



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

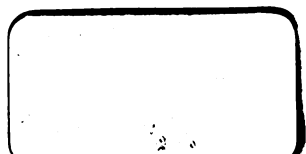




600090494W

111

f. 69





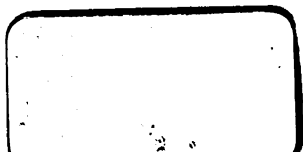




600090494W

111

f. 69









“ But chiefly ye should lift your gaze  
Above the world's uncertain haze,  
And look with calm unwavering eye  
On the bright fields beyond the sky,  
Ye, who your Lord's commission bear,  
His way of mercy to prepare :  
Angels He calls ye: be your strife  
To lead on earth an Angel's life.

Think not of rest ; though dreams be sweet,  
Start up, and ply your heavenward feet.  
Is not God's oath upon your head,  
Ne'er to sink back on slothful bed,  
Never again your loins untie,  
Nor let your torches waste and die,  
Till, when the shadows thickest fall,  
Ye hear your Master's midnight call ? ”

*The Christian Year.*

**LIFE OF BISHOP ANDREWES.**

Reader, be serious, let thy thoughts reflect  
On this grave father with a large respect;  
Peruse his well-spent life, and thou shall finde  
He had a rare and heav'n-enamel'd minde;  
He was our kingdome's star, and shin'd most bright  
In sad affliction's darke and cloudyst night.  
Let his example teach us how to live  
In love and charity; that we may give  
To those whose wants enforce them to implore  
Our ayde; and charity makes no man poore.  
*Andrewes* was fill'd with goodnesse, all his dayes  
Were crown'd and guilded with resounding praise.  
The world shall be his herald to proclaime  
The ample glories of his spreading fame.

HENRY ISAACSON, A.D. 1650.







SIR LANCELOT ANDREWES.

Jordan, of Burns, Portman Street.

**Biography of English Bishops.**

---

**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**LAUNCELOT ANDREWES, D.D.,**  
**BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.**

---

**LONDON:**  
**JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,**  
**AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.**

mdcccliz.





**The Life**  
**OF**  
**LAUNCELOT ANDREWES, D.D.,**  
**BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.**

---

**I**N the same year (A. D. 1555) that Latimer and Ridley nobly won the palm of martyrdom, Launcelot Andrewes was born—"the most worthy Bishop of Winchester, the great light of the Christian world," as the martyr Laud well characterises him; and few men have, under God, been so instrumental in cherishing the flame of Divine truth which those holy sufferers foretold they should enkindle. May the candle then lighted never be put out; and may there never be wanting a Bishop Andrewes to keep it still burning!

He was born in Thames-street, in the parish of All Hallows, Barking, London; and both his

parents being "pious and godly," he was from infancy virtuously brought up. His father, who held the honourable office of Master of the Trinity House, was probably a foreign merchant, the calling for which young Andrewes was originally intended. Mr. Ward, however, the Master of the Coopers' Free Grammar School, in Radcliffe, where he received the first elements of his learning, observing the extraordinary powers of his pupil, persuaded his parents to devote their son to pursuits more congenial to his taste and abilities. Accordingly the young scholar was removed to Merchant Taylors' School, then recently established, and under the superintendence of Mr. Mulcaster, who, by the "hopeful plants" which he sent from it to St. John's College, Oxford, soon brought it into celebrity. This gentleman was a sound and elegant scholar, highly distinguished for his philological attainments, as his several printed works are said to show, especially that on "The True Writing of the English Tongue." He was subsequently appointed Master of St. Paul's School, for the use of which he compiled a Catechism in long and short verse, besides several works on education.<sup>1</sup> Under

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's *Athen. Ox.* ii, 92. ed. Bliss. A very interesting account of the life and writings of Mulcaster is given in the *History of Merchant Taylors' School*, by the Rev. H. B. Wilson.

such an instructor, no wonder that Andrewes—then so determined a student that he preferred his books to the sports of boyhood or the recreations of youth, reading late by candlelight, and rising at four in the morning—should make rapid progress in Greek and Latin, and in other ways give indications of such superior attainments that he attracted the notice of Dr. Watts, a Prebendary of St. Paul's and Archdeacon of Middlesex, "a notable grammarian," and well skilled in the learned languages. In testimony of his admiration of the young student, he nominated him (A.D. 1571) to one of the eight Greek scholarships which he had then lately founded in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Towards these benefactors of his youth, Andrewes felt the deepest gratitude, which he evinced, in after-life, by the many solid favours which he conferred upon them. Upon Dr. Ward, son of his first school-master, he bestowed a valuable living, in Hampshire; and neither Mulcaster nor his son were forgotten by him. Whenever the former was his guest, the most honoured seat was assigned to him; and after his death, Andrewes had his portrait placed over the door of his study. He often regretted that he was unable, except in a single instance, to make any return to Dr. Watts or his family; but he testified his gratitude to this early

patron of his studies, by requiring that, to the two fellowships which he founded by his will in Pembroke Hall, the scholars of Dr. Watts should have the preference. And it is interesting to know that the Merchant Taylors' School, the scene of his earliest triumphs, often sought and obtained the benefit of his patronage and counsel.

From this school he went to the University of Cambridge, where he passed his under-graduateship with distinction, (A. D. 1574-5,) and obtained against Dove, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, his competitor, a fellowship at Pembroke. In the same year, 1576, he was chosen by Hugh Price, founder of Jesus College, Oxford, to a similar honour on that foundation. While at the University, he was, as before he had been at school, remarkable for intense application to his studies. He considered all that time lost which was not devoted to them. With him term-time and vacations were equally seasons of industry; and he appears not to have visited his parents until after he had taken his degree, when he was accustomed to visit them a month annually in London, going there a fortnight before Easter. But even during this season of recreation he had tutors in his father's house ready to receive him, in order that he might, during his stay, commence some new, or pursue some old, language or science.

With such indomitable industry, we are scarcely surprised to find it recorded that he was critically acquainted with no fewer than fifteen languages. It is also worthy of remark that, until he took his B.D. degree, he made his annual visit to London, on foot; and professed that he would not then have ridden on horseback, but that divers friends began to find fault with him, and misinterpret him, as if he had forborne riding only to save charges. Indeed his ordinary exercise and recreation, as his amanuensis and biographer records, was walking either alone by himself or some other selected companion, with whom he might confer and argue, and recount their studies; and he would often profess, that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, heavens, any of the creatures, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, uses, &c., was ever to him the greatest mirth, content, and recreation that could be; and this he held to his dying day.<sup>1</sup>

He took his Master's degree at Cambridge in the

<sup>1</sup> See "An exact Narration of the Life and Death of the late reverend and learned Prelate, and Powerfull Divine, Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester. Which may serve as a pattern of piety and charity to all godly disposed Christians. Faithfully collected by Henry Isaacson. London, printed for John Stafford, near St. Bride's Church, 1650." This Narration comprises twenty small quarto pages.



complete, full, learned, and elaborate body of practical divinity that hath been hitherto published." The now neglected science of casuistry also engaged much of his attention, and he was frequently consulted on many delicate points of conscience.

Besides the office of Catechist, he held the offices of junior and senior Treasurership in his College, having been appointed to the latter in the year 1581. Nor was his reputation confined to the sphere of the University. He was chosen by the Earl of Huntingdon, one of the most distinguished of the Elizabethan worthies, President of the North,<sup>1</sup> to accompany him thither as chaplain; in which capacity he was successful in bringing over many recusants, not a few of whom were priests to the English Church. The celebrated Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of the Queen, was so impressed by his first sermon, which he preached in the Church of his native parish, that he also became his patron; and it is observable that, from the time of his acquaintance with Andrewes, that statesman was much less favourably disposed than he had previously been to the nonconformists.<sup>2</sup> So highly did he estimate the character of this divine, that he would not allow him to accept a country

<sup>1</sup> He was President of the North, 1572—1595.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, ii. 607, folio ed.

benefice, in the hope that he might be able to appoint him to fill a lectureship of controversial divinity, recently founded (1585) at Cambridge, for the purpose, according to Heylin, of making the Church of Rome more odious.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile he made over for his present support the lease of a parsonage in Hampshire; and afterwards obtained for him the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London.

Of his labours as a parish priest few memorials remain, though it is known that his exertions induced an illness, from which it was not expected he would recover. That he was a frequent preacher, may be inferred from his saying, in reference to this period of his life, that when he preached twice he prated once. Of his parochial sermons two remain, which are known to be authentic; both delivered in the year 1592. That on the worshipping of imaginations, preached from the words, "And they continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayers," which was the third on the same subject, "is intended to acquaint the auditory with sundry imaginations by divers erected, which many unstable persons do run after and worship instead of these four," alluded to by the apostle. This is a truly admirable discourse.

<sup>1</sup> Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 50. See also Collier, ii. p. 597.

After showing the rise of imaginations, both without and within the Church, the preacher notices the then prevailing imaginations touching the foundations and building of Christianity; in fine, he exposes the errors of the time respecting the apostles' doctrine, government, the holy eucharist,<sup>1</sup> and public prayer. No more succinct and irrefragable argument against the objections of the puritans to the doctrine and ceremonies of the English Church is to be found. The other sermon is levelled at the absurd notions of the Anabaptists, and treats of the lawfulness and form of swearing, from Jeremiah iv. 2.

Besides these two discourses, a work appeared in the year 1657, under the title of "*Ἀποσπασματα Sacra* [Sacred Fragments]; or, a collection of posthumous and orphan Lectures, delivered at St. Paul's

<sup>1</sup> "Many among us fancy only a sacrament is this action, [breaking of bread,] and look strange at the mention of a sacrifice; whereas we not only use it as a nourishment spiritual, as that it is too, but as a mean also to renew a 'covenant' with God, by virtue of that 'sacrifice,' as the psalmist speaketh. So our Saviour Christ in the institution telleth us, (Luke xxii. 20,) and the apostle (Heb. xiii. 10); and the old writers use no less the word sacrifice than sacrament, altar than table, offer than eat, but both indifferently, to show that there is both." Sermon v. p. 67. See also his reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, c. 8. "Take," he says, "from the mass your transubstantiation, and we will have no difference with you about the sacrifice."

and St. Giles' Churches, &c.;" but as these lectures are acknowledged to have been taken from the lips of the preacher, during the delivery of them, they abound in the imperfections inevitable to such a source, and sadly lack their original perfection.<sup>1</sup>

While Vicar of St. Giles', his liberality to the poor was very considerable. Besides giving ten pounds annually, which was paid in quarterly portions, he gave twelve pence every Sunday he came to church, and five shillings at the offertory, which he considered to have succeeded the *agape* of the early Church, and to be a necessary completion of the Church's sacrifice of prayer and alms. He was likewise in the habit of dispensing private alms through his servants, upon whom he imposed strict silence as to the source whence they proceeded. The endowment of St. Giles' being inconsiderable, he was the means of its being increased, and he repaired the vicarage-house. Good husbandry, he was often heard to say, is good divinity. It was also through Walsingham's influence that he was made Prebendary of St. Pancras, Residentiary of St. Paul's, (29th May, 1589,) and Prebendary of Southwell Minster, as a letter yet extant shows, which appears to have been written in acknowledgment of

<sup>1</sup> See preface to a selection of these lectures, just published in the Practical Christian's Library.

two of these favours. On the 24th May, 1589, he thus writes to the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, principal secretary to the queen's highness, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy council, at Barne Elmes :—

“I do in humble manner crave pardon of your honour, in that I have not myself attended in the redelivery of the enclosed, to render to your honour my bounden duty of thanks for the contents thereof. Being, besides mine exercise to-morrow, on Monday morning, at the feast of my father's company, to preach at Deptford,<sup>1</sup> I promised myself from your honour a favourable dispensation for the forbearing of my presence till then, what time I shall wait on your honour, to present unto the same my unfeigned humble thanks, and not my thanks only, but my service and myself too, to be ordered and employed by your honour every way. The same of my right and duty belonging to your honour, as well in regard of your honour's great bounty to me these years past, which while I live I am bound to acknowledge, as now for the instant procurement of these two prebends, the one of them no sooner ended than the other of them straight begun. They are to me both sufficient witnesses of your honour's care

<sup>1</sup> The brethren of the Trinity House hold their annual meeting on Trinity Monday, when they attend the parish church of Deptford.

for my well-doing, and mindfulness of me upon any occasion. My prayer to God is that I may not live unworthy of these so honourable dealings, but that in some sort, as His holy wisdom shall appoint, I may prove serviceable to your honour, and to your honour's chief care, this Church of ours. What your honour hath and further shall vouchsafe to promise in my name, in this or aught else, shall be, I trust, so satisfied as shall stand with your honour's liking every way. So recommending to your honour the perfecting of your honour's own benefit, with my very humble duty, I end.

"The Lord Jesus, of his great goodness, grant unto this realm long to enjoy your honour. Amen.  
May 24.

"Your honour's in all humble duty and service,  
so most bound,

11

. "L. ANDREWES."

Walsingham did not live many months after the receipt of this letter; and as he died so poor that his friends were obliged to bury him privately in the night for fear his body should be arrested for debt, Andrewes returned the lease of the parsonage before mentioned to his widow. He also preached his patron's funeral sermon.

In the same year (1589) he was appointed to the

headship of that Hall<sup>1</sup> of which he had long been a distinguished member—the same office which, forty years before, had been filled by the illustrious martyr Ridley.

A more recent predecessor in that office, John Whitgift,—a man, according to Camden, who devoutly consecrated his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church,—was now Archbishop of Canterbury; and perhaps no primate ever held that most responsible function at a period of greater delicacy and danger. The flames of puritanism brought from Geneva by the religious exiles who returned to England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, had been too strong for Whitgift's immediate predecessor, Grindal, to quench, even if he had not at times increased them by his too often injudicious and vacillating conduct.<sup>2</sup> Hence, as Strype truly observes, "the Church was now but in a tottering condition, both from the papists on the

<sup>1</sup> It was probably in consequence of having obtained this high academic appointment that Andrewes now took his D.D. degree by royal mandate, as in the ordinary course he could not do till the next year. It appears that on account of certain university squabbles, in which Andrewes probably took a part, he was denied his grace of Doctor of Divinity in the first congregation of Dr. Preston's [vice-chancellor] admission of him.—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, i. 611.

<sup>2</sup> See the Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society.

one hand and the disaffected protestants on the other.”<sup>1</sup> The English papists, no longer quiescent under the Reformation, were actively carrying on their subtle schemes to undermine it, and hundreds of Jesuits were sent into England for that purpose. On the other hand, protestant nonconformity was rapidly gaining ground, its progress being much accelerated by the example of Knox and other rebel fanatics in Scotland. Add to this, that the parochial clergy themselves were generally poor and ignorant to a degree to us scarcely conceivable. They were also as unorthodox as they were unlearned, and many practices prevailed among them altogether subversive of unity and sound doctrine. Not a few endeavoured to set the people against the Book of Common Prayer, by excepting against some of its doctrines and many of its rites and ceremonies. A great number of the clergy refused even to use the Prayer-book at all, and would only preach to the people; and many ministered in holy things who either had never been ordained or were ordained differently from the English ordinal. The universities, moreover, which ought to have been examples of orthodoxy and uniformity, were re-

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, i. p. 228. See also an admirable sketch of the state of the times in Walton's *Life of Hooker*.



markable only for the opposites, and were torn by dissensions about the five points of Calvinism.<sup>1</sup> The press, notwithstanding the legal restraint it was yet under, was daily pouring forth the most pestilential productions, which threw contempt on all that was sound and sacred in Church and State. The queen's chief ministers, with the exception of Sir Christopher Hatton, lord chancellor, who till his death (1591) was Whitgift's "fast and entire friend and confidant,"<sup>2</sup> rather held part with the puritans than churchmen; while the queen herself is well known to have been more careful to exalt herself than the Church, many of whose largest revenues, in the earlier part of her reign, she sacrilegiously appropriated to her own use, which was a chief cause of the general inefficiency of the

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the state of Oxford, see Heylin, *Cyp. Ang.* p. 50; of Cambridge, Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, *passim*. The reader may also profitably consult Mr. Keble's preface to his edition of Hooker's works.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, i. 426. "He was a man," says Camden, "to say nothing of him but that which in truth is due, for religion and godliness right devout, of approved faithfulness to the state of incorrupt equity, for alms-deeds of all others most bountiful, and one—which is not the least part of his praise—that was most willing and ready to maintain and support learning." He was Chancellor of the University of Oxford. His son was Jeremy Taylor's patron and friend.

clergy; parents being unwilling to bring up their children to a calling unable to afford them a decent maintenance.

It need not be added that this was a state of things which induced much of restless controversy, and a very irreverent handling of sacred subjects. An Italian, then in England, writing to a friend at home, observes, with no little astonishment, "that the common people of England were wiser than the wisest of his nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning Church-government; then what were fit to be obeyed and abolished. . . . That men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion; and that in this they appeared like the man who would never cease to whet and whet his knife till there was no steel left to make it useful."<sup>1</sup> Well might Andrewes, in his sermon of the worshipping of imaginations, declare, in allusion to the licentiousness of private judgment, "This is the disease of our age. Not the Pharisees' addition, which is well left, [the errors of Romanism,] but, as bad as it, the philosopher's

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life of Hooker*, i. 362, ed. Zouch.

gloss, which too much aboundeth." And again, "Sure we are in a good way thitherward, [Babylon, in allusion to Amos v. 27,] for of Babel, St. Augustine saith, 'In God's city it never was so, there was ever any correction for coiners; but in Babel, the city of confusion, every philosopher might set up, as now every sect-master may broach, any imagination that taketh him in the head, without punishment.'"

While such was the general condition of the English Church, when Whitgift succeeded Grindal in the primacy, the state of his own province was even worse than that of other dioceses; the blindness and suspension of his predecessor having, for some time before his death, prevented his taking an active part in the discharge of his episcopal duties. As a natural consequence, many irregularities had arisen; and in no part of England were the Romanists and Puritans more bitter, or the clergy more ignorant and disaffected, than in the province of Canterbury. No wonder, therefore, that Whitgift should have been unwilling to accept the primacy at such a crisis, or that, having accepted it, he should seek the assistance of pious and learned divines, in the discharge of its most responsible functions. With this view doubtless it was that he selected some of the most eminent men that

the age afforded for his chaplains—Bancroft, Barlow, Overall, Buckeridge,<sup>1</sup> and Andrewes.

Henceforth we find Andrewes taking a prominent part in ecclesiastical politics. He preached the Latin sermon at the opening of the convocation in the year 1592.<sup>2</sup> A great outcry having been made by the puritans against the supposed abuses of the bishops' courts, with the view of rendering episcopacy the more odious, the queen issued a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (1594,) requiring and authorising him, and such as he should call to his assistance, to institute a particular inquiry into the state of the courts in the province of Canterbury. Among those selected by the primate, Andrewes was one who instituted the inquiry.

<sup>1</sup> Between Andrewes and Buckeridge a close friendship long existed. They were both educated, perhaps at the same time, at Merchant Taylors' School. Buckeridge also succeeded Andrewes in the vicarage of St. Giles'; he was fellow-chaplain with him to King James, as well as to Archbishop Whitgift, was eventually one of his successors in the See of Ely, and, as will be seen, preached his funeral sermon. He was a man of sincere piety, and wrote several able works in defence of the doctrine and discipline of the English Church. In early life he was Laud's tutor at Oxford, and his patron afterwards. He died in the year 1631.—*Wood, Athen. Ox.* ii. p. 508.

<sup>2</sup> This sermon appears among his *Opuscula Posthuma*. A few pithy sentences of it will be found in Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, ii. 142.

Although the part which Whitgift took in the Lambeth Articles would seem to intimate a predilection for the dogmas of Calvin, he was generally supposed, as Heylin says, to be privately averse to them; and, during the heat of the controversies at Cambridge, Andrewes was often solicited to use his influence with the archbishop on behalf of the less popular controvertialists on the orthodox side. Dr. Baro, Margaret Professor of Divinity, who had been accused of reviving the controversy, wrote to Andrewes, between whom and himself there was a good correspondence, telling him that, if he would certify Whitgift of the whole matter, it would turn to the professor's advantage as well as that of his fellow-chaplain Overall, who had also fallen into disgrace for preaching on the universality of Christ's redemption—that Christ died for all. No doubt his intercession on behalf of friends would not be denied: but as regards himself he seems to have declined to enter controversially into a subject so deeply mysterious; for when his opinion was asked respecting the Lambeth Articles, he replied in the following terms—an answer not less indicative of sound sense than of reverence and humility:—

“ I must candidly confess that herein I follow the judgment of Augustin: these mysteries, which I am not able to fathom, sealed up I reverence.

And hence during the sixteen years that I have been in the priesthood, I have not argued concerning them either in public or private, nor treated of them in my academic exercise. Even now I would rather hear of them than speak of them. And indeed since the subject is difficult, and surrounded by fearful downfalls on either side; since the passages of St. Paul, out of which the controversy chiefly arises, have always been placed amongst those things hard to be understood of which St. Peter speaks; since there are few among the clergy who are able to handle the subject discretely, and fewer still of the laity who are fitted to hear it discussed, I am persuaded that, if it be possible, silence should be enjoined on both parties, and the subject not be handled so cursorily and crudely as it is wont to be by some. I really think it far more profitable that our people should be taught to look for salvation in the obvious duties of a holy and faithful life, as St. Paul also admonishes, than in the inscrutable mysteries of the Divine will—a too curious prying into which not only tends to, but actually produces presumption and doubtfulness; at any rate, seldom edification among persons of weak judgment.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As a specimen of Andrewes' latinity, it may be well to give the original: “Ego certe (ingenue fateor) sequutus sum Augus-

Mention has been made of Andrewes' readiness to serve his friends; it is gratifying to know that he was not indisposed to serve those who were suffering from the expression of opinions with which he had himself no sympathy. For instance, when John Udal, one of the Martin Mar-prelate school, had brought himself within danger of his life for having published a seditious and puritanical work entitled "The Demonstration," Andrewes was one of those who took great pains to persuade this honest wrong-head to sign a submission, and throw himself upon the queen's mercy. "He prayed me," to quote Udal's own words in recording one of his visits to him in prison, "to understand what I took excep-

tini consilium; Mysteria hæc quæ aperire non possum, clausa miratus sum, et proinde, per hos 16 annos, ex quo Presbyter sum factus, me neque publicè neque privatim vel disputasse de eis, vel pro concione tractasse: Etiam nunc quoque malle de eis audire, quam dicere. Et quidem cum lubricus locus sit, et habeat utrinque periculosa præcipitia, cumque loci Paulini (unde fere ruitur) inter *δυσνοήτα* illa (de quibus Petrus) semper sint habiti: cumque nec multi in clero sint, qui ea dextrè expedire, et perpauci in populo qui idonei illius auditores esse possint; suaderem, si fieri possit, ut indiceretur utrinque silentium; nec ita passim et crudè proponeretur a quibusque ut assolet: Certe multo magis expedire abitor, ut doceatur populus noster salutem suam querere in manifestis vitæ sanctæ et fideliter institutæ (quod et Petrus suadet) quam in occultis Conailii divini; cuius curiosa nimis inspectio vertigines et scotomata generare potest et solet; sedificationem certè in angustis ingeniis vix solet."

tions against, and for what reasons. So we entered into many discourses, as, first, how the discipline could be said to be against the queen's prerogative royal, seeing it was, as I said I did believe, expressed in the Scriptures, whereby all lawful privileges of princes are warranted. Then we debated whether the supremacy of a Christian prince be the same with a heathen or diverse from it. After that, whether the authority of princes in making church laws be *de jure* or *de facto* only; and, lastly, the most points of discipline. Thus we continued five or six hours, and at last he would have an answer from me then, but he prayed me to advise of it, for he would come again. I answered that the oftener he came the welcomer he should be, but I told him I would not accept of it; yet he came twice after and took my reasons of my refusal to yield thereunto, and, promising me all the favour he could procure me, he departed."<sup>1</sup> Udal, probably at Andrewes' suggestion, obtained a promise of the queen's pardon; but he died in prison before it was formally announced. He also made a fruitless effort to reclaim two other fanatics who were executed as felons, A. D. 1588.

With Queen Elizabeth Andrewes was a deserved

<sup>1</sup> See the trial of Mr. John Udal, a puritan minister, for felony, written by himself. *State Trials*, i. 187; also Collier, ii. p. 638.



favourite. She appointed him one of her chaplains, and took great delight in his sermons, esteeming his delivery of them the most winning and inimitable of any preacher of his time, though his orthodoxy discomposed some of the court hearers.<sup>1</sup> Her majesty also appointed him to a prebend of the eleventh stall, and afterwards to the deanery of Westminster on the death of Dr. Goodman, A. D. 1601. This appointment brought him into official connection with the school of his boyhood, and especially with that associated with the Collegiate Church. Knowing the importance of forming the taste and style upon the best models, he gave strict orders to the master, Mr. Richard Ireland, that none but the most classical authors should be read; and, in the absence of the master, the dean would frequently for a week together supply his place, and superintend the boys' studies himself, "and gave us," as the celebrated Bishop Hackett, then a scholar at Westminster, between the age of nine and thirteen, records, "not an hour of loitering time from morning to night. He caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him to examine the style and proficiency. He never walked to Chiswick without a brace of this young fry, and in that wayfaring leisure had a singular dexterity to fill these narrow

<sup>1</sup> See Sydney Papers quoted by Hallam, *Constitutional History*, ii. p. 88, note (\*).

vessels with a funnel. And, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight till eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue, and the elements of the Hebrew grammar; and all this he did without any compulsion of correction: nay, I never knew him utter so much as a word of asperity among us.<sup>1</sup> Precious, as will be seen hereafter, was the recollection of the hours thus passed with the dean, by those who were fortunate enough to share them, amongst whom, besides Hackett, were Brian Duppa, then a king's scholar, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and Accepted Frewen, subsequently Archbishop of York.

While thus concerning himself in the welfare of the young, he was not without many friends of maturer years; and of these "that most learned, most holy, humble man," Richard Hooker was not the least distinguished. After the death of this illustrious saint, great anxiety prevailed among the learned as to the safety of the manuscripts of the three last books of his immortal work, in preparing which he was known to have been for some time engaged; for as Hooker's friend, Dr. Spencer, ob-

<sup>1</sup> Hackett's Life of Williams, part i. p. 45.

serves in his preface to them when published, "like Rachel, he died as it were in the travail of them, and hastened death upon himself by hastening to give them life." The notorious puritanism of his eccentric wife, whom he had left his sole executrix, and of her connexions, excited no unreasonable fears as to the safety of these invaluable treasures of Catholic truth. In these fears Andrewes participated, as the following letter written a few days after Hooker's death to Dr. Parry, one of the queen's chaplains, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, on the subject, shows; in which so highly did he reverence Hooker, and estimate his labours, that he expresses his willingness to have died in his stead:—

*"Salutem in Christo.*

"I cannot choose but write, though you do not. I never failed since I last saw you, but dayly prayed for him till the very instant you sent this heavie news. I have hitherto prayed, *serva nobis hunc*; now must I, *da nobis alium*. Alas for our greate loss! and when I say ours, though I mean yours and myne, yet much more the common: with [which?] the less sense they have of so greate a damage, the more sad wee neede to bewaile them ourselves, who knowe his workes and his worth to be such as behind him he hath not (that I knowe)

left anie neere him. And whether I shall live to know anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I care not how manie and myself had redeemed his longer life, to have done good in a better subject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or (him that is like to have a greate stake in it) his father-in-lawe, that there be special care and regard for preserving such papers as he left, besides the three last books excepted. By preserving, I meane, that not only they be not embezzled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into greate hands, who will only have use of them *quatenus et quosque*, and suppress the rest, or unhappily all; but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeignedly wished him well, though of the meaner sort, who may, upon good assurance (very good assurance), be trusted with them; for it is pitie they should admit anie limitation. Doe this, and doe it mature; it had bin more than time long since to have bin about it, if I had sooner knowne it. If my word or letter would do anie good to Mr. Churchman,<sup>1</sup> it should not want. But what cannot yourself or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he shall gaine a weeke or two before he knowe of it [Hooker's

<sup>1</sup> Hooker's father-in-law.

death]. Almighty God comfort us over him ! whose taking away I trust I shall no longer live then with grief I remember ; therefore with grief because with inward and most just honour I ever honoured him since I knew him.

“ Your assured poore loving friend,

“ L. ANDREWES.

“ At the Court, Nov. 7, 1600.”

About a month after this letter was written, the archbishop, who was Hooker's fast friend and patron, sent Andrewes on a special mission to his widow, to inquire after the manuscripts ; but he could obtain no satisfactory information about them from this most intractable of her sex. When, however, the archbishop sent for her to London, she confessed that one Mr. Chark, a bitter puritan, and another minister not named, had come to her, and desired that they might go into her late husband's study, and examine some of his writings ; and that there they two tore and burnt many of them, assuring her that they had done so because they were writings not fit to be seen.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this most barbarous conflagration, the rough drafts of the three last books of the “ Ecclesiastical Polity ” were recovered, and delivered by Whitgift to Dr. Spencer, who drew up as perfect a copy as he could,

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Life of Whitgift, ii. 441.

a transcript of which was given to Andrewes, among others.<sup>1</sup>

Within a year after Hooker, Elizabeth died; but when James ascended the throne, Andrewes was not less a favourite with him than he had been with the queen. The king appointed him his almoner; and in all the important ecclesiastical measures which marked the commencement of his reign, the Dean of Westminster took a leading part. For instance, in the celebrated Hampton-Court Conference (1604), summoned by the king in answer to a petition presented by the puritans, in order that the objections against the doctrines and ceremonies of the English Church, as expressed in the Prayer-book, might be gravely considered, Andrewes was appointed one of the Church commissioners. His constitutional modesty of disposition would prevent him from taking a very prominent part in these controversies; but when, in the second day's conference, the antiquity of the sign of the cross in baptism was the subject of discussion, Andrewes, at the command of the king, upon the Bishop of London's motion, proved, out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and others, that it was used *in immortalis lavacro*; which words being

<sup>1</sup> The Appendix to Walton's first edition of the life of Sanderson contains "a sermon of Richard Hooker, found in the study of the late learned Bishop Andrewes."

a little descanted, it fell from one, "I think," says Dr. Barlow, in his account of the conference, "it was my Lord of Winchester, *obiter*, to say, that in Constantine his time it was used in baptism."<sup>1</sup> His majesty's exclamation at this announcement will recur to the reader: "What!" quoth the king, "and is it now come to that pass, that we shall appeach Constantine of popery and superstition? If then it were used, I see no reason but that still we may continue it."

The result of this conference did not much soften the asperity of the puritans, or remove their complaints, though it proved that they were unfounded. It did good also in other ways; and, not to mention the canons of 1604, in which the assistance of Andrewes is obvious,<sup>2</sup> to it we owe our present translation of the Bible. Since the commencement of the Reformation, several translations, in whole or part, by Wyckliffe, Tyndal, Coverdale, and Cranmer, had appeared; and, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Archbishop Parker had sent forth a version, generally known by the name of the "Bishops' Bible," from the fact of eight bishops having been among the translators. But Dr. Reynolds and his

<sup>1</sup> See Barlow's *Summe and Substance of the Hampton-Court Conference*, in Cardwell's *History of Conferences*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> See Canon xxx.

brother puritans objected to these as unfair translations, and desired that a new one might be prepared; which was acceded to. The king appointed fifty-four of the most learned men in the kingdom to execute the important work, forty-seven of whom lived to commence it. They were divided into six divisions, to each of which a portion of the same text was committed for translation. To the Dean of Westminster and others, whose names stand first in the list of translators, was assigned the rendering of the Pentateuch, and the history from the first book of Joshua to the first book of Chronicles inclusive. Every care was taken to ensure a correct version, and many important rules were given; one of which was, "that when any word had several significations, that which had been commonly used by the most celebrated fathers should be preferred, provided it were agreeable to the context, and the analogy of faith."<sup>1</sup> The royal instructions were issued soon after the Hampton-Court Conference; but the work was not commenced until the spring of the year 1607. The execution of it occupied the learned translators about three years; and in 1611 they dedicated their incomparable work—equally remarkable, as it has been well observed, for the general fidelity of its rendering and the

<sup>1</sup> Collier, ii. 694.



magnificent simplicity of its language—to King James, not only as being “the principal mover and author of the work, but since things of this quality have ever been subject to the censures of ill-meaning and discontented persons, it may receive his majesty’s approbation and patronage, whose allowance and acceptance of their labours, the translators declare shall more honour and encourage them, than all the calumniations and hard interpretations of other men shall dismay them. So that if,” continues the epistle dedicatory, “on the one side we shall be traduced by popish persons at home or abroad, who therefore will malign us because we are poor instruments to make God’s holy truth more and more known unto the people, whom they desire still to keep in ignorance and darkness; or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking to nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil,—we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord; and sustained without by the powerful protection of your majesty’s grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavours, against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations.”

Before this noble dedication was offered, Andrewes had been elevated to the highest order in the Christian Church. On the 3rd of November, 1605, he was appointed Bishop of Chichester, and resigned the Mastership of Pembroke two days after. The sees of Salisbury and Ely had been previously offered to him by Queen Elizabeth; but as he was to receive them on condition that a portion of their revenues should be applied to other uses than those for which the pious donors had intended them, he indignantly refused to sanction that sacrilege which, together with usury<sup>1</sup> and simony, he justly abhorred. His act at Cambridge on commencing doctor of divinity was in proof of the Divine right of tithes; and his *concio ad clerum* was from Proverbs xx. 25:—“It is a snare to a man who devoureth that which is holy.” It is observable that when, several years

<sup>1</sup> He was frequently known to lend large sums of money, but would never receive any thing beyond the principal in return. Hammond, as will be seen, had the same scruples. Probably both these primitive-minded men imagined that the apostolic canon (xliv.) had not lost its obligation: “Let a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, who takes usury from those who borrow of him, give up doing so, or be deposed.” The Council of Nice (canon xvii.) still more strongly deprecates the custom: “The holy and great synod considers it right that, if any one [persons of the ecclesiastical order] after this decision shall be found receiving money for what he has advanced, . . . he shall be deposed from the clergy, and struck out of the list.”

afterwards, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for alienating Sherburn Castle from the see of Sarum, Andrewes was the only bishop who voted against the measure. This singularity having been observed, he remarked that it was no new opinion he had expressed, as he had maintained the same many years before, in confirmation of which he related his refusal of the See of Sarum. When this was told the prince, afterwards Charles I., who was present at the passing of the bill, he regretted that the bishop had not openly stated his reasons; for if he had known them, he declared that he would have obtained his father's permission to have opposed the measure.

While thus bold in defending the rights of the Church, he was not less decided in maintaining the prerogatives of the crown. This the many sermons which he preached before the king, commemorating various national events, and which will be alluded to by and by, abundantly manifest; but soon after his elevation to the episcopate, an opportunity presented itself wherein he spoke very decidedly on the matter, and thoroughly established the king's right of calling religious synods and assemblies. The Scottish presbyterians having persisted, against the king's express commands to the contrary, in calling an assembly at Aberdeen, his majesty, justly

indignant at such contempt of his authority, summoned several of the leading ministers to London. that they might give satisfaction for their disobedience. Being indisposed to do this, the king sent three questions which he desired them to answer, the second being, Whether they acknowledge his majesty, by the authority of his prerogative royal, as a Christian king, to have lawful and full power, to convoke, prorogue, and cause desert upon just and necessary causes known to him, the assemblies of the kirk within his majesty's dominion? The king also appointed four English bishops to preach at Hampton Court on the subject, and commanded the Scottish ministers to attend. It was on the 28th of September, 1606, that Andrewes preached, from Numbers x. 12: "Then God spake to Moses, saying, Make thee two trumpets of silver, of one piece shalt thou make them. And thou shalt have them (or they shall be for thee) to assemble (or call together) the congregation, and to remove the camp." From these significant words the preacher clearly establishes the king's right and power of calling assemblies, and justifies the assertion of our twenty-first Article, that general councils may not be called together without the will of princes. The importance of the subject may excuse a brief analysis of this very elaborate discourse.

After showing the applicability of the text to the matter in hand, he mentions that assemblies are necessary for the well-being of the Church. "The Church hath her wars to fight; the Church hath her laws to make. Wars with heresies, wherein experience teacheth us it is matter of less difficulty to raze a good fort than to cast down a strong imagination, and more easy to drive out of the field a good army of men than to chase out of men's minds a heap of fond opinions having once taken head. Now heresies have ever been best put to flight by the Church's assemblies, that is, councils, as it were by the armies of God's angels, as Eusebius calleth them; yea, it is well known that some heresies could never be thoroughly mastered or conquered but so.

"Then for the Church's laws, which we call canons and rules, made to restrain or redress abuses, they have always likewise been made at her assemblies in councils, and not elsewhere; so that as requisite are assemblies for the congregation in this sense as any other."

The preacher then proceeds to show that the power of calling these councils was under the law from the time of Moses to Maccabees, and under the gospel from Constantine to the twelfth century, placed in the hands of the civil magistrate. He

proves that the seven general councils—hence we may infer that Andrewes acknowledged seven to have been general—were convened at the command of princes. The same power is shown to have called together national and provincial synods, till one of the trumpets alluded to in the text was gotten away by Rome at the Council of Lateran (1180). In reply to an objection brought from the practice of the times before Moses and Constantine, when councils were held uncalled by princes, the bishop observes that, “as the Church was then under persecution, there was no Christian magistrate to summon them. When the magistrate and his authority was at any time wanting to the Church, forced she was to deal with her own affairs within herself; for then was the Church wholly divided from princes, and they from it. But when this wall of partition is pulled down, shall Moses have no more to do than Pharaoh, or Constantine than Nero?”

The sermon concludes by remarking that, as the trumpet had been recovered by the King of England at the Reformation, it was inconsistent in the presbytery to object to his using it. “Was it then,” he asks, “usurped from princes, and are now princes usurpers of it themselves? And is this all the difference in the matters of assemblies and calling of them, that there must be only a change, and

duct as legate in France. About a twelvemonth before his death he retired from the world into a monastery of the order of Jesuits to which he belonged, and which is said to have been the only obstacle to his not obtaining the popedom. He died in the year 1621. Of all the Romish controversialists he is not only considered the greatest, but the most ingenuous, in consequence of which his writings have been rather discouraged by some of the Romanists. Though his life had lain chiefly on the paths of controversy, his love of peace was naturally great; and he often declared "that an ounce of peace was better than a pound of victory." He was greatly beloved by all who knew him; and when he left Capua the people devoutly kissed his robes as he withdrew, and begged his blessing. At his funeral it required the interference of armed guards to prevent the afflicted multitude from thronging round the bier to kiss his corpse.

To return to the subject of this memoir. About the same time that he was translated to the See of Ely, the king, with a view of giving increased efficiency to the Church in Scotland, convened an assembly at Glasgow, in which several heads of discipline were drawn up favourable to a moderate episcopacy. Soon after the dissolution of the assembly, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's was com-

manded to attend the king in London, and to bring with him two chaplains for the purpose of being consecrated bishops. On their arrival, in September, a commission was issued to the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath and Wells, to consecrate them according to the English ordinal; but, in the interval of issuing the commission and the solemnity, a difficulty suggested itself with reference to the consecration of the Scotch bishops which might have proved fatal to the measure. Andrewes mentioned that persons proposed to be consecrated bishops ought first to be made priests, on the score of their having not been ordained by a bishop. On the other hand, Heylyn says that Archbishop Bancroft argued there was no necessity the Scotch bishops should pass through the intermediate orders of deacon and priest, as the episcopal character might be fully conveyed at a single consecration. This argument, not unsupported by the testimony of the early Church, and which did not in the least acknowledge the validity of presbyterian orders, was accepted, and the consecration was proceeded with, Andrewes taking a part in it (Oct. 21st, 1609).

Within a fortnight after the consecration of the Scottish bishops, the primacy became vacant by the death of Archbishop Bancroft, than whom a more orthodox and vigilant bishop never presided over



the English Church. A man he was, says Heylyn, of eminent parts, and of a most undaunted spirit, one who well knew his work, and did it. When chaplain to Lord Chancellor Hatton, who was his great patron, he had won that nobleman over to the interests of the Church. His work also on the "Dangerous Positions and Proceedings published and practised within the Island of Britain, under Pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterial Discipline," as well as his treatise, entitled a "Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline," did much to expose the dangers and sophistries of the puritan faction. He also had a chief hand in effecting a conformity between the Churches of England and Scotland. The conference at Hampton Court was under his management, as well as the convocation of the same year, the canons of which, when Archbishop of Canterbury, he duly enforced. The successor of such a man, therefore, was, at this juncture especially, of no ordinary importance; and the Bishop of Ely being universally acknowledged to be the fittest person to succeed him, several of the bishops met together and unanimously recommended him to the king for that purpose. But, supposing that his partiality towards Andrewes rendered it unnecessary for them to press their suit, they left town with the conviction that he would succeed as

a matter of course to the primacy. The Earl of Dunbar, however, the king's first Scotch favourite, taking advantage of their absence, used his influence in behalf of Abbott, Bishop of London, who, to the surprise of all, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Though at all times unfit for that post, at the present crisis his appointment was fatal to the Church of England. Being a man of very morose manners and of a very sour aspect, as Clarendon describes him, and with no other idea of the Christian religion than as it opposed and reviled popery, and who valued those men most who did that most furiously, he soon neutralized the labours of Whitgift and Bancroft, who, by their moderation and orthodoxy, had almost rescued the Church out of the hands of the Calvinian party; and he did much to enkindle those flames of religious disaffection and controversy which eventually broke out in the great rebellion—a catastrophe that, in the judgment of the noble historian, would in all human probability have been prevented had Bancroft been succeeded by Bishop Andrewes, or any man who understood and loved the Church.<sup>1</sup> Heylin is of the same opinion. “If,” he says, “Andrewes had succeeded Bancroft, and Laud followed Andrewes, the Church would have been settled so sure on a

<sup>1</sup> History of the Rebellion, i. 157, Ox. ed. 1826.

foundation that it could not easily have been shaken, to the preventing of those deplorable miseries which the remiss government of that popular prelate [Abbott] did so unfortunately bring both on the Church and state."<sup>1</sup> Dodd, the Romish historian, agrees in these sentiments.<sup>2</sup>

Andrewes, however, was far too generous to resent his disappointment, if disappointed he was, though it is more probable that he, who had with difficulty been prevailed upon to receive the episcopate at all, would rejoice at having been spared the danger and difficulty of so high a sphere; and it is gratifying to know that when, many years afterwards, (1620,) the archbishop was likely to have fallen into disgrace, from having accidentally killed a keeper when shooting with the cross-bow in Lord Zouch's park, at Bramzill, in Hampshire, Andrewes was among the first and warmest advocates of his grace's innocence. "Brethren," said he, with his usual generosity of spirit, to several bishops associated with himself and others by the king to inquire into the matter, who were laying more guilt on the act than it would bear, "be not too busy to condemn any for uncanonicals according to the strictness thereof, lest we render ourselves in the same con-

<sup>1</sup> Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Church Hist. iv. 157.

dition."<sup>1</sup> A sense of justice was doubtless sufficient to ensure the bishop's services; but his zeal might not be a little increased by a desire to prevent the ambitious designs of Lord Keeper Williams, who, in the hope of succeeding the primate, had done all in his power to damage him with the king.<sup>2</sup> Early in the year 1613, Andrewes was nominated by the king a commissioner on the delicate question of divorce between Lady Frances Howard and the Earl of Essex, in favour of which, with the majority of the commissioners, he gave his vote. This has been pronounced the only blot upon his character; but as the parties in question were married from merely political motives in their childhood, as the marriage was never consummated, and the countess was guilty of adultery with Lord Rochester, whom she afterwards married, there seems to have been ample grounds for Andrewes being in favour of a divorce. He afterwards accompanied the king to Scotland, whither James proceeded in the hope of settling the affairs of the Church in that distracted kingdom (1617); and no doubt prepared the way by his prudent counsel to the passing of the canons in the assembly at Perth, when the constitution of the Church in Scotland was brought nearer to that of England than it had ever been before since the Reformation.

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Church Hist. iii. 288, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Cyp. Anglic. p. 88.

A sermon preached before the king at Holyrood House, on Whitsunday 1617, is extant. While in Scotland, where his munificence, hospitality, and piety were greatly commended, he was made a privy counsellor of that kingdom, having the year before been admitted to the same honour in England;<sup>1</sup> and on his return home (Sept. 29th), the king appointed him Dean of the Chapel Royal and Bishop of Winchester. Peter Du Moulin, a celebrated professor of divinity among the French Protestants, writing to him about this time, warmly congratulates both himself and the Church on his appointment. After a deserved eulogium upon Andrewes' predecessor, Bishop Montague, who appears to have been an intimate friend and patron of Moulin, he adds, "I put aside my grief [at Montague's death] when I heard that you succeeded in his room, whose learning I long since admired, and of whose good affection I had great experience when I was with you; indeed, his most judicious majesty did not stick long upon his choice; you were even then designed his successor in the judgment of all who knew the wisdom of the king. May it, I beseech God, prove happy and for-

<sup>1</sup> He did not much concern himself with civil politics. He would say, when he came to the council-table, "Is there any thing to be done to-day for the Church?" If they answered "Yea;" then he said, "I will stay." If "No;" he said, "I will be gone."—*Lloyd's State Worthies*, p. 1024, ed. 1670.

tunate to yourself, the Church, and kingdom. May he grant you, with increase of honour, increase of virtue, and a fresh and lively old age; that his most gracious majesty may long enjoy you for his counsellor, and the Church daily reap more and more fruits of your industry and vigilance.”<sup>1</sup>

This affectionate prayer was not unheard, especially the latter portion of it. The Church in general, and the Diocese of Winchester in particular, daily reaped the fruits of its chief pastor’s industry and vigilance. Among which fruits it may be mentioned that the restoration of the Church in Jersey, which forms part of the Diocese of Winchester, and which had for a long period been infested by puritanism, is mainly to be attributed to Bishop Andrewes.<sup>2</sup>

Having hitherto exhibited the character of this “peerless prelate” in relation to the more public duties of his exalted station, let us now turn to the practice of his daily life, and admire the high scriptural principles which guided it. The reader may probably be surprised to find that Bishop Andrewes, who took a leading part in the ecclesiastical politics of his times, was, notwithstanding, during his whole career, a severe student, a painful preacher, a volu-

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth’s *Christian Institutes*, iii. 222.

<sup>2</sup> See Collier, ii. 707.

minous writer, an irrefragable controversialist, and lived a prayerful and almost ascetic life.

It need not be said that he discharged the duties of his most holy office with all fidelity and zeal. He who maintained that episcopacy was of divine origin, instituted by Christ himself, and yet had so humble an opinion of his individual merits as to have confessed himself *inutilis servus, atque inutile pondus*, and adopted for the motto of his episcopal seal the sacred words, *Et ad hæc quis idoneus?* (Who is sufficient for these things?) was not likely to forget the solemn vows he had made to feed the flock of Christ, of which he was an overseer, and to watch as one that must give account. In admitting candidates to holy orders, and clerks to benefices, he exercised the greatest caution, and not unfrequently submitted to legal measures against him rather than be instrumental in sending unworthy labourers into the Lord's vineyard. He was, if possible, still more exact in dispensing his own patronage. What had long before been said of Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, was generally applied to him: "He never conferred ecclesiastical benefices upon any but men of learning, and always rejected those who depended upon the solicitations and favour of the nobility, and were eager in their pursuits of preferment." Against nepotism, in matters of such

sacred trust, he had deserved aversion. He would frequently send for men of reputation and character, though unknown to him, upon whom he bestowed valuable preferment. In cases also where it was inconvenient for the objects of his patronage to pay the customary fees of induction, he would pay them himself. Of the individuals thus honourably preferred, one or two names are preserved, amply sufficient to justify the selections made. To Nicholas Fuller,<sup>1</sup> his chaplain, "the most admired critic of his time," he gave, unsolicited, the valuable rectory of St. Bishop's, Waltham. Sending for Peter Blois, one of his fellow-translators of the Bible, to London, he bestowed a prebend of Ely upon him, unasked, (Aug. 1615,) saying that he bestowed it upon him without any one moving him thereto, "though," said he, "some pick-thanks will be saying they stood your friends herein."<sup>2</sup> Meric Casaubon, son of Isaac Casaubon, received the living of Blidon, in Somersetshire, at the bishop's hands, in consideration of his father's merits, and his own. Bishop Pearson, in his funeral oration on Bishop Wrenn, records that Andrewes was Wrenn's great patron and friend; that he found him out as a youth of great promise at Merchant Taylors' School, and

<sup>1</sup> Athen. Ox. ii. 327; Fuller's Ch. Hist. iii. 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Desiderata Curiosa*, b. viii. p. 335.



was the occasion of his being sent to Pembroke College, Cambridge; then made him his chaplain, and recommended him to further advantage. Dr. Corbet,<sup>1</sup> eventually Bishop of London, was also one of his chaplains; and Henry Isaacson,<sup>2</sup> a layman and celebrated chronologer, his amanuensis,<sup>3</sup> to whom we are indebted for the sketch of the bishop's life which appears in Fuller's "*Abel Redivivus*, or Lives and Deaths of Modern Divines." He also invited Cosin, then Fellow of Caius College, and afterwards the famous Bishop of Durham, to become his librarian.<sup>4</sup> It need not be added that Laud owed his high position in the Church under God to the friendship and patronage of Andrewes.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. Ox. ii. 885.

<sup>2</sup> Fasti. Ox. 1337.

<sup>3</sup> Andrewes had another amanuensis named Henry Wotton, Rector of Wrentham, Suffolk, whose son was the wonder of his age. There was brought up to London (1679), says John Evelyn, a child, son of one Mr. Wotton, formerly amanuensis to Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, who both read and perfectly understood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and most of the modern languages; disputed in divinity, laws, and all sciences; was skilful in history, both ecclesiastical and profane, on politics; in a word, so universally and solidly learned at eleven years of age, that he was looked upon as a miracle.—*Diary* ii. p. 77. As this is recorded in the year 1679, about fifty-three after the bishop's death, H. Wotton is scarcely likely to have been his amanuensis.

<sup>4</sup> Life of Bishop Cosin, prefixed to Brewer's edition of the History of Popish Transubstantiation, p. x.

That love of retirement and meditation, for which he was so remarkable in boyhood and youth, continued with him through life. He always rose early; and from the hour of rising till noon, when he dined, he never allowed himself to be interrupted in his studies, except for the performance of public and private prayer, duties to which he devoted five hours daily. When Bishop of Ely, his chapel, in which he had monthly communions, was so reverently adorned, and God served there with so holy and reverend behaviour of himself, and his family by his pattern, that the souls of many that came thither in time of divine service were very much elevated, and they stirred up to the like reverent deportment; "yea," says Isaacson, "some that had been there were so taken with it that they desired to end their days in the Bishop of Ely's chapel."<sup>1</sup> Before dinner he denied himself even to scholars, though, as he used to observe, they were no scholars who would interrupt him before noon. After dinner he recreated himself by two or three hours' agreeable conversation with his guests or friends, and the discharge of his episcopal and other public business; and then returned to his studies and devotions, at which he usually continued till bedtime,

<sup>1</sup> See note at the end.

unless he was obliged to entertain or visit friends at supper, the principal meal of the times. He always, however, ate sparingly, besides scrupulously observing the days of fasting and abstinence appointed by the Church.

It was during these hours of thoughtful privacy that he wrote his many valuable works. Of these, his ninety-six sermons, and a "Manual of Private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week," and a "Manual of Directions of the Visitation of the Sick, together with Meditations on the Holy Communion," are best known to the general reader. These manuals, written in Greek and Latin, were compiled out of the holy Scriptures and ancient liturgies, and, being compiled for the bishop's own use, they open to us the inmost recesses of his soul, and prove how truly his life was said to be a life of prayer. In them, too, may be seen the source and strength of all his virtues. It was the Holy Spirit, whose gracious influences he so earnestly supplicated, that inspired his heart and animated his actions. But he prayed not for himself alone, but "for all whom I have educated, for all whom I have ordained, for my college, my parish, Southwell, St. Paul's, Westminster, dioceses of Chichester, Ely, and my present, the deanery in the Chapel Royal, the almonry, the colleges committed

to me"<sup>1</sup> [as visitor]. Nor were the living only the objects of his intercession. He intercedes also "for all our forefathers, and our brethren departed." He was also accustomed to supplicate God in private in behalf of the Catholic Church, "its establishment and increase; for the eastern, its deliverance and union; for the western, its adjustment and peace; for the British, the supply of what is wanting in it, the strengthening of what remains." He told his friend Du Moulin that he daily begged humbly of God that the Reformed Churches might be united "in the same form of church polity, by the bond of ecclesiastical government; but that same which derives its pedigree from the very infancy of the Church, from the reverend antiquity of the first ages, which whosoever opposes, opposes himself to all antiquity; which St. James the Apostle began in the Church of Jerusalem, from whom the succession of bishops in a long course descended; which condemned Arius for daring to oppose himself against the consent and practice of the Catholic Church, which all Churches everywhere received."<sup>2</sup> Such were among the subjects of this pious prelate's devotions; and it has well been said, "Pray

<sup>1</sup> See translation, in *Tracts for the Times*, v. 35, 67.

<sup>2</sup> See Wordsworth's *Christian Institutes*, iii. 265.

with Bishop Andrewes for one week, and he will be thy companion for the residue of thy years; he will be pleasant in thy life, and at the hour of death he will not forsake thee." It is gratifying to be able to adduce a witness to its value like Bishop Horne, who in disposition and character was in many points not unlike Andrewes. "He showed to me," writes his friend and biographer, Jones of Nayland, "as we were upon a walk one summer's evening in the country, when he was a very young man, that precious composition of Bishop Andrewes, the first copy of which occurred to him in the library of Magdalene College, on which he set so great a value during the rest of his life that, while he was Dean of Canterbury, he published, after the example of the excellent Dean Stanhope, a handsome English edition of it. And it happened, some time after Mr. Horne had first brought the work into request, that a great number of copies of the Greek and Latin edition were discovered in a warehouse at Oxford, where they had lain undisturbed in sheets for many years.<sup>1</sup> In the copy published after Dean Stanhope's form, the *Manual for the Sick*, though the best thing extant on its subject, is wholly omitted; but in the posthumous manuscript [Bishop Horne's] I speak of, the whole is put together, with

<sup>1</sup> The devotions were printed at the Oxford press in 1675.

improvements by the compiler; and I wish," continues Jones, "all the parochial clergy in the nation were possessed of it."<sup>1</sup>

Another devotional work, entitled "*Institutiones piæ*, or Directions to Pray," first collected and published by H.[enry] I.[saacson], in 1630, has been generally ascribed to Andrewes on the authority of Henry Seile, who brought out the first four editions, and who, in his preface to the fourth edition (1655), says, that among the sights which a Christian may most wish to have seen was Dr. Andrewes in the schools, Saint Andrewes in the closet, and Bishop Andrewes in the pulpit; in saying which Serle probably had in mind a well-known wish of St. Chrysostom in reference to the Apostle Paul. The reader will be glad to know that a new edition of this work has lately been sent forth by Archdeacon Hale.

The authenticated sermons of Bishop Andrewes which have been published are ninety-six in number, seventeen of which are upon the nativity,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Life of Horne, p. 80; Works, vi.

<sup>2</sup> The sermon preached on one of these occasions, from Galatians iii. 4, 5, produced a great sensation. "The king," says Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, "with much importunity, had the copy delivered to him on Tuesday last before his going to Royston, and says he will lay it still under his pillow."—*Nichols' Progress of James I.* ii. 284.

eight upon repentance and fasting preached upon Ash-Wednesday, six on the same subject preached in Lent, three upon the Passion, eighteen upon the Resurrection, fifteen upon the sending of the Holy Ghost, eight preached in commemoration of the king's preservation from the conspiracy of the Gowries,<sup>1</sup> ten on the fifth of November, and eleven upon various other public occasions. As Andrewes was one of the most popular court-preachers of his time (*stella prædicantium*), the sermons were mostly delivered before Elizabeth and James, at Whitehall, Hampton Court, and other royal residences. There is also remaining one of his spital sermons, preached at St. Mary's Hospital, founded in the year 1197, and in the yard of which was a pulpit-cross of equal celebrity with that of St. Paul's, and with which it was long connected. It was customary, Strype tells us, for the Bishop of London to summon up from the Universities, or elsewhere, persons of best

<sup>1</sup> The diabolical attack made upon the king's life by the Earl of Gowry and his brother, at Perth, on August the 5th, 1600, is detailed by Archbishop Spotswood, in his History of the Church of Scotland. And "in acknowledgment of the favours and grace they had all received of God, by the miraculous and extraordinary preservation from that treasonable attempt, the estates did ordain that, in all times and ages to come, the fifth of August should be solemnly kept with prayers, preachings, and thanksgivings for that benefit." Hence the origin of the sermons preached by Andrewes on the conspiracy of the Gowries.

abilities to preach public sermons at St. Paul's Cross, whither the prince and court, and the magistrates of the city, besides a vast conflux of people, used to resort. Thus, on Good Fridays, a sermon was preached there on the Passion of Christ; and on three days in Easter-week, sermons were preached at St. Mary's Hospital on the Resurrection. It was usual for a bishop to preach on the Monday in Easter-week, a dean on Tuesday, and a doctor of divinity on Wednesday; and in conformity with this rule it was that Andrewes preached on the Wednesday in Easter-week, A.D. 1583. After the fire of London, the spital sermons were preached at St. Bride's, in Fleet-street, and the Good Friday sermon in the choir of St. Paul's.<sup>1</sup>

It need scarcely be said that these sermons admirably illustrate the subjects they treat upon,—subjects involving the cardinal doctrines of the faith and the most primitive customs of the Church. All these points, and other topics of a kindred nature, it has been truly said, are treated in a manner the most forcible and satisfactory that can well be imagined; and there is a Catholic spirit which per-

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Life of Aylmer*, p. 201. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxi. 590, quoted in vol. v. of the *Anglo-Catholic Library*. A print of St. Paul's Cross may be seen in *Blunt's History of the Reformation*.



vades the whole, and vividly recalls to the imagination the productions of the first and purest ages of the faith.<sup>1</sup> In a word, the style in which they are written bears evident marks of great carefulness of composition, and is generally clear, logical, decorous, and grave, though not without the quaintness of the time. To charge, as some presume to do, Bishop Andrewes—one of the greatest scholars in the Augustan age of our literature, the contemporary of Shakspeare, Sidney, Spenser, Raleigh, Bacon, and the friend of Hooker—with having introduced a vicious taste<sup>2</sup> into the English pulpit is an accusation as ridiculous as it is false, and happily needs no other refutation than a perusal of the sermons themselves; or, as Fuller observes, “as for such who causelessly have charged his sermons as ‘affected, and surcharged with verbal allusions,’ when they themselves have set forth the like, it will then be time enough to make this bishop’s first defence against their calumniations.”<sup>3</sup> True it is that a play upon words, as in the translation of the sacred Scriptures themselves, and in some of the fathers, may occasionally be detected; but it will always be found to increase the seriousness, rather than excite the levity, of the thoughtful reader.

<sup>1</sup> See preface of first vol. of the Anglo-Catholic Library.

<sup>2</sup> Birch’s Life of Tillotson, p. 21.    <sup>3</sup> Church History, iii. 849.

The fact is, that when men speak the language of earnest passion, there is always something of wit playing about their lips, unless they are dull people. And it is nature that Shakspeare follows, when he introduces his heroes in deep tragedy playing upon words and names, as Ajax does in Sophocles. But it is not only sorrow and sadness, but indignation or any lively emotion that prompts it, and so it will be found in Bishop Andrewes. It is only a proof of earnestness as when he says of the sentence in the letter from which King James detected the Gunpowder Plot, it was as "dark as the cellar where the powder lay."

But, whatever reverence the sermons may claim from the reader in respect of their orthodoxy, learning, and eloquence, there was a charm in the preacher's delivery of them which irresistibly captivated every hearer. Like most other accomplishments of the kind, it cannot be explained wherein the charm consisted. It was, however, felt and acknowledged to be inimitable. Fuller, with his usual quaintness, observes, "Such plagiaries who have stolen his sermons could never steal his preaching, and could make nothing of that whereof he made all things he could desire pious and pleasant." Bishop Felton, his contemporary and colleague, endeavoured in vain to assimilate his style, and there-

fore said merrily of himself, "I had almost marred my own natural trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble."<sup>1</sup> In other respects, however, there was between Bishop Felton and Andrewes a striking conformity, "both being sons of seafaring men, who, by God's blessing upon their industry, obtained comfortable estates; both scholars, fellows, and masters of Pembroke Hall; both great scholars and painful preachers in London for many years, with no less profit to others than credit to themselves; both successively Bishops of Ely."<sup>2</sup> They also died within a few days of each other.

In enumerating the works of Bishop Andrewes, it should not be forgotten that the English Church is indebted to him for the first reformed service of consecration of a church or chapel, and of the place of Christian burial. He appears to have made use of it for the first time in consecrating a chapel and cemetery built and endowed at the sole charge of a Captain Smith, who lived at Pear-Tree, in the parish of St. Mary's, near Southampton (Sep. 17th, 1620). The bishop also drew up some valuable notes on the Liturgy, which will be found in the appendix of Dr. Nicholls' Commentary on the Prayer-book.

His replies, said to be answerless and the most

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Worthies, p. 206. (London.)

<sup>2</sup> Church History, iii. 359.

learned of his writings, against the attacks of Bellarmine and Perron, upon the writings of King James, as well as the two speeches which he delivered in the Star Chamber,—one against the Judaical opinions of Thraske,<sup>1</sup> who maintained that Christians are bound to abstain from meats prohibited by the law, and that the Lord's day was to be observed with the same strictness as the Jewish sabbath; the other, concerning a rash vow made by the Countess of Shrewsbury, and who refused to be examined in a court of law in consequence,—appear among his posthumous publications. His correspondence, before alluded to, with Du Moulin, besides containing the clearest and yet the most compendious defence of episcopacy in our theology, discloses a good deal of the writer's character and manner of handling his subjects. The correspondence appears to have arisen from the French divine having written a work against the Romanists on the "Calling of Pastors," in which he had maintained that the names of bishop and presbyter are promiscuously taken for one and the same; that there is but one and the same *order* of presbyter and bishop; and that episcopacy is not of divine institution. These propositions having been excepted against by King James, Du Moulin wrote to Andrewes, desiring

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Church Hist. iii. 274. A.D. 1618.

him to pacify the king's anger against him, and to have his opinion on the subject, at the same time expressing his willingness to be guided by it. Such was the origin of the correspondence;<sup>1</sup> and in the course of it, while Andrewes admits that the name bishop and presbyter are used indiscriminately in the New Testament, he denies that they are of the same order, since bishops have power to a special act—that is, to ordain; or that episcopacy is merely an ecclesiastical, and not a divine, institution. “We very well know,” he writes, “that the apostles and the seventy-two disciples were two orders, and those distinct. And this likewise we know, that bishops and presbyters are taken to be after this example; that bishops succeeded the apostles, and presbyters the seventy-two. . . . Hence,” he concludes, “that the order of bishops and presbyters has the strength and sinews thereof, not only from the apostles, but even from the Saviour himself. Nay, further,” he here maintains, as he has also done in a treatise on “The Form of Church Government before and after Christ, as it is expressed in the Old and New

<sup>1</sup> The letters of Andrewes, three in number, were originally written in Latin, and are printed among his *Opuscula Posthuma*. An English translation appeared in 1647, by an anonymous hand, and which Dr. Wordsworth observes is executed with a very creditable degree of care and fidelity.

Testament,"<sup>1</sup> "that what Aaron, and his sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, that do bishops, priests, and deacons challenge to themselves in the Church"—the opinion also, it need not be added, of most of the early fathers, St. Clement of Rome, St. Cyprian, and even Jerome. "And yet," he adds, in his second letter, in reply to Du Moulin's inference from this judgment, "though our government be by divine right, it follows not either that there is 'no salvation,' or that a Church cannot stand without it. He must needs be stone-blind that sees not Churches standing without it; he must needs be made of iron and hard-hearted that denies them salvation. We are not made of that metal; we are none of those ironsides; we put a wide difference betwixt them. Somewhat may be wanting that is of divine right (at least in the external government), and yet salvation may be had. . . .

<sup>1</sup> It was published by Dr. Bernard, chaplain to Archbishop Usher, in his "*Clavi Trabales*, or Nails fastened by some Great Masters of Assemblies, confirming the King's Supremacy, and Church-Government under Bishops." "Whatever defects it may have," the editor observes, "for want of the authors last hand thereunto, the publisher, in order to the public good, thought fit to join it with the rest in this edition especially, the learned primate [Usher] having had it under his file, as by the notes and other additions written with the primate's own hand (which I have seen and can testify) doth plainly appear."—*Kable's Hooker*, p. 96, note.

This is not to damn anything to prefer a better thing before it; this is not to damn your Church to recall it to another form that all antiquity was better pleased with, *i. e.* to ours; and this when God shall grant the opportunity and your estate may bear it." So much for the justice of Hallam's assertion that Andrewes was the head of a school who treated presbyterians both at home and abroad with severity.

In the beginning of the year 1625, Andrewes' best friend and patron, King James I., died at Theobald's; and if Laud, who happened to be preaching at Whitehall at the time of his death, was so affected at the intimation given of it, by "the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham," as to break off his sermon in the middle, one may readily suppose that Andrewes would lament his loss most deeply.

Severe indisposition of his own prevented him from obeying the king's reiterated command to attend him at Royston. Bishop Williams, therefore, supplied the place of "the king's favourite prelate;" and he has left a very interesting account of his majesty's piety and devotion during his sickness. "Some four or five days before his end, he desired to receive the blessed sacrament, *viaticum æternitatis*, as it is termed in the ancient

councils, a blessed bait that the devout soul useth, for the most part, to take in this life when it is ready to travel for the other. Being demanded if he was prepared in point of faith and charity for so great a devotion, he said he was, and gave his humble thanks to God for the same . . . . Being told that men in holy orders in the Church of England do challenge a power as inherent in their function, not in their person, to pronounce and declare remission of sins to such as being penitent do call for the same, and that they have a form of absolution for that purpose set down in the book of Common Prayer, he answered suddenly, 'I have ever believed that there was that power in you that be in orders of the Church of England; and that, amongst others, was unto me an evident demonstration that the Church of England is, without all question, the Church of Christ; and therefore, I, a miserable sinner, do humbly desire Almighty God to absolve me of my sins, and you, as his servant in that high place, to afford me his heavenly comfort.' After the absolution was pronounced, he received the Holy Sacrament.<sup>1</sup> The king died on the 27th of March; and on the 10th of April, Andrewes, in company with Laud,

<sup>1</sup> Nichols' *Progresses of James I.* iv. p. 1030; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, i. p. 171.



visited his remains then lying in state in Somerset House.

Whatever may be the difference of opinion which exists as to the character of our first James, all thoughtful persons will be induced to estimate very highly the testimony of one who was so accurate yet impartial an observer of mankind as Bishop Andrewes.<sup>1</sup> His opinion of the king's learning and orthodoxy may be gathered from a passage in one of his letters to Du Moulin.

"You yourself know (and indeed who knows not, since he has wrote so much so admirably) that as he is most able in respect of his other endowments of wit and learning, so also in respect of his acuteness and solidity of judgment, he is equal to the best, or rather goes before them. No man living has in our Church's affairs a clearer insight, a readier despatch, than he." In the same letter we also see him manifesting a solicitude in the king's behalf, which must have resulted from something more than ordinary loyalty, and is evidently the outpouring of an affectionate and devoted heart. "I had wrote these," he says, in apology for his delay in replying to Du Moulin's letter, "in the beginning of March, and was about to send them presently, when lo the indisposition of the king, in

<sup>1</sup> See also Bishop Hackett's encomium of King James, *Life of Williams*, part i. p. 224.

point of health, made me lay them by, and hindered my sending of them.<sup>1</sup> This sickness, contracted first by grief for the death of his most dear consort, our most gracious queen, and the neglect of all care of his body upon that grief, ended at last in a disease . . . Whereby I forgot what I wrote, and so omitted to send to you. For all I had to do was to fall to my prayers, with many more, who were sore perplexed, as then in jeopardy for a most gracious king."

In further testimony of his respect for his sovereign, it may be added—that when James intimated his intention of visiting him at Farnham (August 31st, 1620), he rejoiced to give him an entertainment worthy of a king, and expended during the three days of his visit no less a sum than £1000.<sup>2</sup> And yet, on the other hand, there was nothing obsequious, least of all parasitical, in his deportment towards his sovereign. This a well-known anecdote

<sup>1</sup> The king's complaint was a severe attack of the stone. "The king keeps Easter at Royston, and the Bishop of Winchester was sent for yesterday (March 26, 1619) to preach to-morrow."—April 10. "My lord of Winchester is still at Royston with the king, who hath continued weak, and had divers accidents that gave him a general apprehension of danger." (Chamberlain to Carleton.)—*Nichols' Progresses*, iii. 533.

<sup>2</sup> This is said by Isaacson to have been £3000; but Chamberlain, in writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, mentions the more probable sum of £1000.

preserved by Waller proves, besides showing the tact he had in declining to answer a useless question, and in administering a just reproof. The poet, going to see the king at dinner, says that he overheard a very extraordinary conversation between his majesty and two prelates, the Bishop of Winchester and Dr. Neale, Bishop of Durham, who were standing behind the king's chair. His majesty asked the bishops, "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" The Bishop of Durham readily answered, "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils." Whereupon the king turned, and said to the Bishop of Winchester, "Well, my lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied the bishop, "I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases." The king answered, "No put-offs, my lord; answer me presently." "Then, sir," said he, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, because he offers it." No wonder that James should reverence such a bishop, and, in proof of doing so, restrain in his presence from indulging in those jestings, not always the most delicate, for which his majesty was rather too notorious: a fact corroborative of what is said by one of Andrewes' contemporaries, that there was something overawing in the bishop's appearance;

the fathers not being more faithfully cited in his books than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage.

The condition of the English Church at the death of James was far from satisfactory. True it is that, by his determined resistance to the innovations of the puritans in the Hampton-Court Conference, by his salutary injunctions, and his general patronage of orthodox divines, he had preserved the formularies of the Church of England intact, and her voice was still accordant with that of the Church universal. Nevertheless was there much of controversy within and without the Church; and disaffected members of it, no less than papists and puritans, seemed bent upon undermining her strength. James had not a little increased the virulence of the prevailing disputes, by having deputed several English divines to attend the synod held at Dort in Germany (A. D. 1618), which had been convened for the purpose of settling the controversies between the fautors of Arminius and Calvin. The five points of Calvin having been confirmed by that synod, disaffected Englishmen were ready to take advantage of the presence of our divines, and to affirm that the decisions of Dort were binding in England. This, of course, was far from the truth, James having on his own responsibility, and from merely political mo-

tives, sent divines to the synod in question. This injudicious step afforded a handle for the Calvinian party to press their opinions with greater boldness. Hence the quinquarticular controversy, which, in the time of Elizabeth, had been chiefly confined to the schools, was now agitated in almost every parish in England.

A striking instance of its general prevalence occurred just before the death of James; and as Bishop Andrewes had some concern in settling the serious discussions which arose out of it, a slight allusion to it is desirable. The Jesuits, as already noticed, had long infested England; and as they well knew how impossible it was to disprove the authorized doctrines of the Church, they were accustomed to impute to her opinions and practices utterly abhorrent from her authorized declarations. Among other places, these disciples of Loyola established themselves (1624) in the parish of Stamford Ferrers, of which Richard Montague, B.D., was rector, a right learned man, who had maintained against Selden, and eventually to his conviction, the divine right of tithes, a prebendary of Windsor, and one of the fellows of Eton. In conformity with his ordination-vow, he endeavoured to banish and drive away the erroneous dogmas of these wily emissaries of the papal see; and with this view he left with

one of his parishioners, whose house the Jesuits frequented, a series of propositions bearing upon the Romish controversy, together with a declaration that, if the propositions were satisfactorily answered, Montague himself would conform to the Church of Rome. Of course the writer well knew that his propositions were unanswerable; but that the Jesuits might not appear to have been foiled, they put forth a pamphlet entitled "A New Gag for the Old Gospel," in which they pretended that the Church of England might be refuted out of her own Bible. On looking into this production, Montague soon found that it imputed doctrines to the English Church which she justly repudiated, or at least was silent upon. The fallacy of making the opinions of individuals the authoritative teaching of the Church, Montague quickly exposed in a work named the "Gagger Gagged," which not only incensed the Jesuits, but infuriated the puritans, whose dogmas he condemned with those of popery. Hence he was denounced as an Arminian, and, somewhat inconsistently, as a papist. Two fanatical and seditious lecturers of Ipswich collected garbled passages from the work, which they conceived to substantiate these calumnies, with a view of presenting them to the judgment of the following parliament; the puritans having now artfully

assumed the character of patriots, in the hope of making orthodox Churchmen unpopular by representing them as enemies of the state, as did the Jews of old in opposition to the teaching of our Lord. Montague having procured a copy of the information about to be presented against him, threw himself upon the king's protection, which, at the intervention of Andrewes and others, was readily afforded; and he was allowed to appeal from his accusers to his majesty himself. Hence the origin of his celebrated work, "*Appello Cæsarem*, or a Just Appeal from two Unjust Informers;" but before it was published the king died.

This incident may serve to illustrate the general condition of the Church of England at the death of James I.; and happy was Charles, his successor, that in those delicate circumstances he had the mature judgment of the venerable Andrewes to guide him. That his advice was quickly called into requisition, we learn from Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, who, a few days after the king had been proclaimed (April 9, 1625), received a command from the Duke of Buckingham to go to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Winchester, and learn from him what he would have done in the cause of the Church, and bring back his answer, especially in the matter of the five articles,

(the articles settled at Dort,) as to whether they should be discussed in the approaching convocation. In conformity with his opinion already given respecting this controversy, he was opposed to its discussion. The visit paid by Andrewes and Laud to Buckeridge, at Bromley, was no doubt connected with some matter bearing upon ecclesiastical matters. It is thus alluded to in Laud's Diary. "June 5, Whitsunday. In the morning, just before I was going to prayers, I received letters from France, from the most illustrious Duke of Buckingham.—June 6. I wrote an answer next morning. After I had finished my answer, the venerable Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, and I went together to the country-house which John, Bishop of Rochester, hath by Bromley. We dined there, and returned in the evening." The plague having broken out in London, and raging with greater violence than was ever known before, "the king commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, with six other bishops, (of whom Andrewes was one,) to advise together concerning a public fast, and a form of prayer to implore the divine mercy, now that the pestilence began to spread, and the extraordinary wet weather threatened a famine; and also to beg the divine blessing upon the fleet now ready to be put to sea!" (June

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Diary, 38, 39.



24). About six months afterwards, (Jan. 18,) the plague having subsided, he assisted in the compilation of a form of thanksgiving for the same.<sup>1</sup> A sermon preached before the king by Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in which he was thought to have favoured the view of the corporal presence in the Eucharist, having been much commented upon in the convocation then sitting, the king commanded Archbishop Abbot, Andrewes, Laud, and others, to consult together concerning the sermon.—April 26. The answer which they gave to the king on the subject is worth recording. “The bishops agreed that some things were therein spoken less cautiously, but nothing falsely; that nothing was innovated by him on the doctrine of the Church of England; that the best way would be that the bishop should preach the sermon again, at sometime to be chosen by himself, and should then show how and wherein he was misunderstood by his auditors.”<sup>2</sup>

The bishop's own judgment of the teaching of the English Church on the important doctrine here controverted is thus quoted by his friend Bishop Cosin in his “History of Popish Transubstantiation.” It is taken from his answer to the apology of Cardinal Bellarmine, “where you may find things worthy to be read and noted, as follows: Christ said, *This is My Body*: in this, the object, we are agreed

Laud's Diary, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 67.

with you; the manner only is controverted. We hold by a firm faith that it is the body of Christ: of the manner how it comes to be so, there is not a word in the Gospels; and because the Scripture is silent in this, we justly disown it to be a matter of faith. We may, indeed, rank it among the tenets of the school, but by no means among the articles of our Christian belief. We like well of what Durandus is reported to have said: 'We hear the word, and feel the motion; we know not the manner, and yet believe the presence:' for we believe a real presence no less than you do. We dare not be so bold as to define anything concerning the manner of a true presence; or rather we do not so much as trouble ourselves with being inquisitive about it; no more than in baptism, how the blood of Christ washeth us; or in the incarnation of our Redeemer, how the divine and human nature were united together: we put it in the number of sacred things or sacrifices (the Eucharist itself being a sacred mystery), whereof the remnants ought to be consumed with fire, that is (as the Fathers elegantly have it), adored by faith, but not searched by reason."<sup>1</sup>

The inquiry respecting Goodman, with the exception of having joined in a letter to the king exculpatory of the charges advanced against Montague,

<sup>1</sup> Respon. ad. Apol. Card. Bellarmine, c. i. p. 10.

was probably the last public business in which the bishop was engaged. Du Moulin, as we have seen at the conclusion of his last letter, prays that God may preserve him, and grant him a fresh and lively old age, with increase of all honour and happiness. In allusion to which Andrewes observes, "I entreat you, beg of God for me, that the remainder of my life which is to come may be rather good than long; for as a play, so our life: it skills not how long, but how good, how well acted." To the conclusion of his long, good, and well-acted life we are now approaching.

The plague, which was thought to have been decreasing, began to spread again. Among its numberless victims were two brothers of Bishop Andrewes. He was deeply affected by their loss; for though, living in a contented celibacy, and not experiencing the sympathies of married life, he was keenly alive to the love of brotherhood. When his second brother, Nicholas, was carried off, he had a presentiment that his own end was not far distant; and when another brother died, he took that as a certain prognostic and warning of his own death. From that time he gave himself up to watching and prayer. He made his last will,<sup>1</sup> (Sept. 22, 1626,) by which he bequeathed to charitable purposes 6326*l.*; a sum which, large as it was, had been exceeded by

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

his charities during his life, in the last six years of which he gave away in private alms above 1800*l*. His liberality as Vicar of St. Giles's has already been noticed. When appointed Master of Pembroke Hall, he found the College in debt, but he left it, in ready money 1000*l*. When Residentiary of St. Paul's, he rebuilt a house in Creed Lane, belonging to his prebend, and restored it to the Church. He repaired the dean's lodging in Westminster. When appointed to the See of Chichester, he repaired the palace there, and the house in Aldingbourne. At Ely he spent, in reparation of Ely House in Holborn, of Ely Palace at Downham, and Wisbeach Castle, 2000*l*.; the sum which he expended at Winchester House, Southwark, at Farnham, at Waltham, and Wolversey, the then episcopal residences of the Bishops of Winchester.<sup>1</sup> In other ways, also, he had exercised great munificence. On going to Oxford with King James, whom he had attended in his progress through the

<sup>1</sup> The ancient palace of the Bishops of Winchester, in Southwark, having been dilapidated during the rebellion, an act of parliament was passed at the restoration to enable Bishop Morley to lease out the houses in Southwark for other purposes, together with two parks and desmenes at Bishop Waltham, in Hampshire; and, by the same act, a mansion at Chelsea, built by James, Duke of Hamilton, was purchased for the bishops of this see, and called Winchester House. This, however, was sold by Bishop Tomline, in 1821.—*Winkler's Cathedrals*, ii. 144.

kingdom, he left 50*l.* to be distributed among the poorer scholars; and when, in 1614, he accompanied the king to Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> he sent to the moderator, and three others concerned in the philosophy act, all being of Pembroke Hall, twenty angels a-peice. Indeed, he never visited either University without leaving solid records of his bounty. The most learned foreigners<sup>2</sup> of his time, Casaubon, Grotius, Vossius, Cluverius, and Erpenius, also felt the benefit of his liberality; and he is said to have offered to the last of these distinguished men a considerable stipend out of his own purse, if he would come to England and teach the oriental languages.

It was during one of his visits to Cambridge with the king that he first became acquainted with the saintly Herbert, whose spirit was near akin to his own, when he was public orator of the University. "At that time," says Izaak Walton, "there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predes-

<sup>1</sup> Hartshorne's Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> In a collection of letters of distinguished and learned men, written in Latin, and published at Amsterdam, there is frequent allusion to Andrewes, in the letters of Grotius and other foreigners, to English divines of that time, as a person of great influence and extraordinary judgment; but there are not any letters of Andrewes in the collection. This collection has been referred to in one or two recent biographical dictionaries under the title of "Epistolæ Remonstrantium." The correct designation is, "Prætantium ac eruditorum virorum Epistolæ ecclesiasticæ et theologicæ," &c.

tion and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did, not long after, send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms in a long letter, written in Greek, which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to many scholars both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart to the last day of his life."<sup>1</sup>

He only survived the making of his will three days, during which prayer was still his employment. "Besides," says one,<sup>2</sup> who was probably an eye-witness of the fact he records, "the often prayers that were read to him, in which he repeated all the parts of the confession, and other petitions, with an audible voice, as long as his strength endured, he did—as was well observed by certain tokens in him—continually pray to himself, though he seemed otherwise to rest or slumber; and when he could pray no longer with his voice, yet, by lifting up his eyes and hands, he prayed still; and when both voice, and eyes, and hands failed in their office, then, with his heart, he still prayed, until it pleased God to receive his blessed soul to himself." After his death, his manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Walton's Life of Herbert.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Buckeridge.

manual of prayers was found lying beside him, worn with his fingers and wet with his tears. He died at Winchester House, Southwark, on Monday the 25th of September, 1626,<sup>1</sup> the same day of the year on which he was born, so that, almost without a figure, the day of his death may be said to have been his birthday. His funeral was most honourably solemnized, according to his degree, on Saturday the 11th of November following, in the parish church of St. Saviour,<sup>2</sup> in Southwark, which was

<sup>1</sup> His death is thus recorded by Laud. "Sept. 25, Monday, about four o'clock in the morning died Launcelot Andrewes, the most worthy Bishop of Winchester, the great light of the Christian world."—*Diary*, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting account of this Church will be found in the sixth volume of the *British Magazine* (1834). Before the Reformation the Church was known by the name of St. Mary Overy, "the Church at the Ferry," which was given to it on account of its proximity to, and its intimate connexion with, the ferry over the adjacent river. This was then a priory church; but in the reign of Henry VIII. a new parish was created, under the name of St. Saviour, to which the priory was appropriated. Before recent alterations, there were two spacious chapels on either side the choir, one of which, on account of containing the tomb of Bishop Andrewes, was called the Bishop's Chapel. This chapel, however, was subsequently destroyed by fire, and the altar-tomb of Bishop Andrewes is now placed in the Lady Chapel. The effigy of the prelate is attired in his episcopal robes, surmounted by the mantle of the Order of the Garter. A canopy which formerly existed was destroyed by the fire already mentioned. It has been said that the remains of the bishop were removed a few years ago to make room for another interment. Is this possible?

near the episcopal residence. On a monument erected to his memory by his executor, John Parker, Esq., (sometime elected Alderman of London, and paid his fine,) he being a man of whose integrity he had a great confidence,<sup>1</sup> the following epitaph was inscribed in Latin by one of the bishop's domestic chaplains: "Reader, if thou art a Christian, stay: it will be worth thy tarrying to know how great a man lies here; a member of the same Catholic Church with thyself, under the same hope of a happy resurrection, and waiting for the same appearance of our Lord Jesus—the most pious prelate, *Launcelot Andrewes*: . . . an infinite treasury, an amazing oracle of languages, arts, sciences, and everything of human or divine knowledge; an incomparable defender of the Catholic Church of Christ, by his words, writings, prayers, and example. [Here follows an enumeration of his various offices.] His name will be eternally admired on account of his indefatigable diligence in his studies, his consummate wisdom in affairs, his constant piety towards God, his profuse liberality to the poor, his uncommon courtesy towards his friends, and his unshaken integrity towards all. Being at last

<sup>1</sup> See MS. note in the Heralds' Office, quoted by Kennet, and given in Wood's *Fasti Ox.* ii. 219. This note, however, is not very accurate; for instance, it places the bishop's death on the 26th of Sept.

---



equally full of years and public fame, to the regret of all good men, he died, unmarried, and left this world for a crown of glory (aureola) in heaven.”<sup>1</sup> Milton, when a youth of seventeen, and before he was soured by puritanism, also wrote an elegant Latin elegy on his memory; and, even in after-life, he makes respectful mention of the bishop in his prose works.

His character is more fully drawn by his friends Laud<sup>2</sup> and Buckeridge in their dedication of his

<sup>1</sup> The word “aureola” has a peculiar signification in ecclesiastical usage, and denotes “that little coronet or special reward which God hath prepared (extraordinary, and besides the great crown of all faithful souls) for those ‘who have not defiled themselves with women, but follow the (virgin) Lamb for ever.”—*Bp. Taylor, Holy Living*, c. xi. sect. 3.

The following lines of Keble are founded upon this passage:—

They say, who know the life divine,  
And upward gaze with eagle eyne,  
That by each golden crown on high,  
Rich with celestial jewelry,  
Which for our Lord's redeemed is set,  
There hangs a radiant coronet,  
All gemm'd with pure and living light,  
Too dazling for a sinner's sight,  
Prepared for virgin souls, and them  
Who seek the martyr's diadem.—*Christian Year*.

This word in Andrewes' epitaph is made a ground of accusation against his memory by Hallam, as indicating a leaning to Popery!

<sup>2</sup> Laud, in a letter to Gor. Joh. Vossius, alludes to the publication of these sermons: “*Jussu serenissimi Regis, sed opera mea*

sermons to Charles I., at whose command they were published, who is well known to have deeply valued the writings of Andrewes,<sup>1</sup> and to have recommended them to the constant perusal of his children a short time before his martyrdom. They describe him, as a man, as if he had been made up of learning and virtue. "Both of them so eminent in him, it is hard to judge which had precedency and greater interest. His virtue, which we must still judge the more worthy in any man, was comparable to that which was wont to be found in the primitive bishops of the Church. And had he lived amongst those ancient fathers, his virtues would have shined even amongst those virtuous men.<sup>2</sup> And for his learning, that was as well, if

et episcopi Eliensis, conciones viri apud nos doctissimi, et sanctissimi Præsulis nuper Wintoniensis, plurimæ in lucem prodierunt." —*Epistolæ Ecclæ. et Theol.* cccclxxi. Julii 14, 1629.

<sup>1</sup> So also did good King George III., who, in allusion to Bishop Andrewes and the divines of the seventeenth century, said "there were giants in those days."

<sup>2</sup> The writer of a history of King Charles, quoted by Heylyn, says that he was as studiously devoted to the doctrine of the ancient fathers, as his extant works breathe nothing but their faith.—*Cypr. Angl.* 165. Mr. Hallam also admits that Andrewes was more learned in patristic theology than any of the Elizabethan bishops.—*Hist. of Lit.* i. p. 38. And yet the same writer ventures to call this respect for antiquity "a relapse into superstition."—*Constit. Hist.* ii. 88.

not better, known abroad<sup>1</sup> than respected at home. And take him in his latitude, we, which knew him well, knew not any kind of learning to which he was a stranger, but in his profession admirable. None stronger than he when he wrestled with an adversary. And that Bellarmine felt, who was as well able to shift for himself as any that stood for the Roman party. None more exact, more judicious, than he, where he was to instruct and inform others. And that, as they knew which often heard him preach, so they may learn that will read this which he hath left behind him. And yet this fullness of his material learning left room enough in the temper of his brain for almost all languages, learned and modern,<sup>2</sup> to seat themselves. So that his learning had all the helps language could afford; and his languages learning enough for the best of them to express. His judgment, in the mean time, so commanding over both, as that neither of them was suffered idly or curiously to start from, or fall

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon extols his skill in all kinds of learning; Spanheim his acute and sagacious judgment; and Du Moulin eulogises his learned and accurate letters, that no gold can value and weigh against them, which he should keep by him while he lived as a most precious treasure.

<sup>2</sup> And yet Du Moulin apologises for not having before sent one of his works to him, on the ground that he was told by divers the bishop understood not French.

short of, their intended scope. So that we may better say of him, as it was sometimes said of Claudius Drusus, he was of as many and as great virtues as mortal nature could receive or industry make perfect."

Again, his old and most distinguished pupil, Bishop Hacket, when alluding to Andrewes in his Life of Archbishop Williams, a successor of Andrewes in the deanery of Westminster, breaks forth in a yet deeper strain of grateful eulogy. "This is that Andrewes," he exclaims, "the ointment of whose name is sweeter than all spices. (Cant. iv. 10). This is that celebrated Bishop of Winton whose learning King James admired above all his chaplains. . . . Indeed, he was the most apostolical and primitive-like divine, in my opinion, that wore a rochet in his age; of a most venerable gravity, and yet most sweet in all commerce; the most devout that ever I saw when he appeared before God;<sup>1</sup> of such a growth in all kinds of learning, that very able clerks were of a low stature to him—*Colossus inter icunculas*; full of alms and charity, of which none knew but his Father in secret; a certain patron to scholars of fame and ability, and chiefly to those

<sup>1</sup> On entering church he always made an obeisance towards the altar. Indeed, he seems to have been among the first of the clergy who revived this venerable custom in the reign of Elizabeth.—*Heslyn's Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 17.—*Bp. Wrenn's Parentalia*.

who never expected it. In the pulpit an Homer among preachers, and may fitly be set forth in Quinctilian's judgment of Homer, *Nonne humani ingenii modum excessit? Ut magni fit viri virtutes ejus non æmulatione quod fieri non potest sed intellectu sequi*. I am transported, even as in a rapture, to make this dispersion," continues the bishop, "for who could come near the shrine of such a saint, and not offer a few grains of glory upon it? or how durst I omit it? for he was the first that planted me in my tender studies, and matured them continually with his bounty."<sup>1</sup> And may we not add that the lessons which he learnt from Andrewes enabled this excellent prelate to bear with such exemplary patience the evils which awaited him in after-life, during his confessorship in the great rebellion. It is pleasing also to know that Hacket's self-denial and munificence were scarcely inferior to those of his patron.

An anecdote is preserved which shows that Andrewes had already begun to mark the symptoms of the storm which, not many years after his death, overwhelmed both Church and State in ruin. It is well known that when Prince Charles went into Spain to woo the Infanta of that country, Wrenn accompanied him in the capacity of chaplain. On

<sup>1</sup> Hacket's Life of Williams, part i. p. 45.

his return to England (1623), he was called upon to give his opinion as to the religious principles of his royal charge under the following circumstances. Wrenn had been staying some time at Winchester House, where Andrewes always reserved rooms for his accommodation when in London ; but being to set out for Cambridge by break of day, he took leave of the bishop, and went the night before to lie at his sister's house in Friday-street. However, before he was up in the morning, there came a message that he must, without fail, be at Winchester House by ten o'clock. To this unexpected appointment he was punctual, and, though Andrewes, as before observed, did not usually leave his study before twelve, he found him now in his great gallery, a place where he came only once a year, locked up with Neil, Bishop of Durham, and Laud, Bishop of St. David's. After the usual ceremonies, all sitting down again, the Bishop of Durham said, "Doctor, after you left us yesterday at Whitehall, we entered further into discourse of things, which we foresee will, ere long, come to pass, (meaning King James' death,) and resolved to speak with you again before you go home. We must now know of you what are your thoughts concerning your young master the prince; you have been his servant above two years, and were with him in Spain ; he re-

spects you well: you cannot but have observed how things are like to go." "What things, my lord?" said Wrenn. "In brief," replied Neil, "how the prince's heart stands towards the Church of England." Wrenn returned for answer, "However I am most unfit to give my opinion herein, attending but two months in the year, and then at great distance, except only in the closet and at meals, yet, being thus prest, I'll speak my mind freely. I know my master's learning is not equal to his father's, yet I know his judgment is very right; and as for his affections in the particular you point at, (for upholding the doctrine, and discipline, and right estate of the Church,) I have more confidence of him than of his father, in whom you have seen, better than I, so much inconstancy in particular cases." Upon this Neil and Laud began to argue with him what grounds he had to think thus, which he gave them at large. And, after an hour's debate, Andrews, who had been silent all the while, concluded the conference by saying, "Well, Doctor, God send you may be a true prophet concerning your master's inclinations, which we are glad to hear from you. I am sure I shall be a true prophet; I shall be in my grave, and so shall you, my lord of Durham. But my lord of St. David's and you, Doctor, will live to see the day that your master will be put to

it upon his head and his crown, without he will forsake the support of the Church." "Of this prediction made by that holy father," adds Bishop Wrenn, from whose *Parentalia* the anecdote is chiefly taken, "I have no witness but mine own conscience, and the Eternal God, who knows I lie not." How truly these prophetic words were fulfilled the fast-hastening rebellion testified. Andrewes, however, had been mercifully called to his rest before these evil days appeared. This memoir, therefore, may now be appropriately brought to a close. And what pious reader will not join in the prayer of Bishop Buckeridge, "God grant that many ages may be so happy to bring forth and enjoy such a prelate as Bishop Andrewes, so furnished with all the endowments of learning and knowledge, with innocence and holiness of life, and with such piety and charity as he showed in his life and death."



## NOTE.

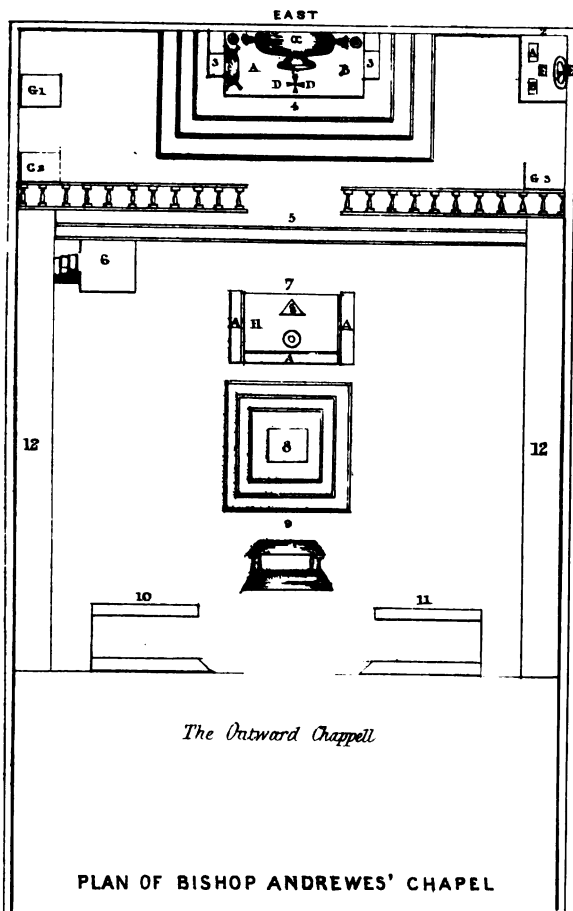
---

### BISHOP ANDREWES' CHAPEL.

THE reader may be glad to have a more detailed account of the sanctuary which so deeply affected pious minds. It is true that the subjoined description refers to the bishop's chapel when Bishop of Winchester, but this no doubt corresponded with the chapel at Ely. The description has been preserved by one whose object was to denounce it; viz. by the notorious puritan Prynne, in an infamous work called "Canterbury's Doom," in allusion to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had copied the pattern of his patron's chapel in his own chapels at Lambeth and Aberguilly:—

"1. The Altar, 1 yard  $\frac{1}{2}$  high, 1 yard  $\frac{3}{4}$  long, 1 yard broad. *a.* A cushion. *ββ.* Two candlesticks with tapers. *C.* The bason for oblations; the daily furniture for the Altar. *D.* A cushion for the service-book. *A.* The silver and gilt canister for the wafers, like a wicker-basket, and lined with cambric laced. *B.* The Tonne,<sup>1</sup> upon a cradle. *G.* The chalice, having on the outside of the bowl CHRIST with the lost sheep on His shoulders; on the top of the cover, the wisemen's star, both engraven; it is covered with a linen napkin (called the Aire) embroidered with coloured silks. *DD.* Two patens. *Ψ.* The Tricanale, being a round ball with a screw cover, whereout issue 3 pipes, and is for the water of mixture. 2. A sier [side, Ed.] table on which, before the Communion, stand *A* and *B*, upon two napkins. *E.* A bason and ewer, to wash before consecration. *F.* The towel appertaining. 3. 3. The

<sup>1</sup> Flagon.





kneeling-stools covered and stuffed. 4. The foot-pace, with three ascents covered with a Turkey carpet, of fir boards. GGG. Three chairs used at Ordinations, or [by] prelates communicant. 5. The septum, with two ascents. 6. The pulpit. 7. The music table, with (AAA) three forms. E. A Triquertral censer, wherein the clerk putteth frankincense at the reading of the first lesson. H. The Navicula, like the keel of a boat,<sup>2</sup> with a half-cover and a foot out of which the frankincense is poured. 8. A foot-pace, with three ascents, on which the lectern standeth covered, and thereon the great Bible. 9. The faldstoy, whereat they kneel to read the Litany. 10. Is the chaplain's seat where he readeth service. 11. A seat, with a canopy over it, for the bishop; but at the Communion time he sits on G3. 12. 12. Two long forms for the family."

We are further able to show the reverent manner in which the Eucharistical portion of divine service was solemnized in the chapel, from Bishop Andrewes' own notes on the Liturgy, which are appended to Nicholls' "Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer."

"The priest, after the collect, descends to the door of the septum, *makes a low adoration towards the altar*; then turns to the people, and standing in the door readeth the ten commandments (as from God), while they lie prostrate to the end, as to God speaking..... *Then shall follow the collect.*] *Bowing as before*, the minister goes up to the altar and kneels down. *Immediately after the collect, the priest shall read the epistle.*] Here the other priest, or, if there be none, he that executeth, descendeth to the door, *adoreth*, and then, turning, readeth the epistle and gospel...

"*The epistle and gospel being ended, shall be said the creed.*] *Adorat*, ascendit, et legit symbolum Nicenum, populo adhuc stante.

"*After the creed.*] *Lectâ*, confessione Nicenâ, *the priest adores*; then he removes the basin from the back of the altar to the fore part. The bishop ascends *with treble adoration*, and lastly kneels down at the altar. Into his hands the priest, from a by-standing table on the south side, reaches, first, the wafer-bread, in a canister

close covered and lined with linen; secondly, the wine, in a barrel on a cradle with four feet. These the bishop offers in the name of the whole congregation upon the altar. Then he offers into the basin for himself, and after him the whole congregation, and so betake themselves to their proper and convenient place of kneeling; bishops and priests only within the *septum*, deacons at the door, the laity without, the priests meanwhile reading the peculiar sentences for the offertory, *Solis ministerio sacro deditis ad altare ingredi et communicare licet*, Conc. Laod. Can. 19.

"Then the priest, standing up, shall say the prayer of consecration.] ...Here the priest, having made adoration, poureth water upon the napkin ready for that purpose, and cleareth his hands: mysticè respiciens illud psalmi, *Lavabo in innocentia manus meas, et sic introibo ad altare Dei, &c.*.....Moraliter et decorè, uti cum magnatibus accubaturi sumus. Postea panes è canistro in patinam ponit. Dein vinum è doliolo, adinstar sanguinis erumpentis in calicem haurit. Tum aquam è triconali scypho immiscet. Postremò omnibus ritè, et quam fieri potest decentissimè atque aptissimè compositis, stans pergit et peragit. In rariore solemnitate hic pergit episcopus et consecrat.....

"Then shall be said or sung, Glory be to God on high.]...Here the congregation riseth, and, having made their adoration, they go towards their seats to a little private devotion. In their way, at the foot of the choir, stands the *Cippus Pauperum*, into which every man puts a small piece of silver; whilst the priest, standing still at the altar, readeth the exhortatory sentence for alms. When all are composed in their seats, he proceeds to the blessing." See Dr. Hook's "Ecclesiastical Biography," from which this extract is principally made. The extract from "Canterbury's Doom," is taken from the second part of "*Hierurgia Anglicana*, or Documents and Extracts illustrative of the Church in England after the Reformation."

## APPENDIX.

---

*Bishop Andrewes' Will.*—Extracted from MSS. Harleian, 1576, p. 280.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Launcellott Andrewes, (unworthy of the name or place,) Bishop of Winchester, being at this time somewhat accrased in my health, but sound in my mind and memorie, (I praise God for it,) having before my eyes my yeares and infirmities, with the manifold uncertainties of this life, do make, ordeyne, and declare this my last will and testament, revoking all former wills by me made.

First, and above all, with all due humilitie and in most devout manner, I yelde into the hands of Almighty God that which he hath created, that which he hath redeemed, that which [he] hath regenerated, that is, my soule and my body, most humbly beseeching him to make me (a most wretched sinner) partaker, by the mercies of the Father, and through the merits of his Sonne, of the forgiveness of my sinnes, and all the comforte of his Holy Spirit pertyning to his covenante made with mankind in the death of his Sonne. Whomsoever I have offended any waies, I do on my knees desire to be forgiven of them; and who hath any waies offended me, I freely and fully forgive them, as I wish to have my sinnes, which are many and great, and grievous, forgiven me at the hand of God. As my spirit I commend to God that gave it me, so my

body to the earth where it is to be buried, in such place as I shall signify; or (if I faile to do it) by the discretion of my executor. To the bearing of my funerale, if it be thought requisite I be in any solemne manner buried, I allowe, &c.

Of this my will and testament, I make and ordeyne executor Mr. John Parker, cittisen and Merchant Taylor of London, reposing my trust in him, that he will see duly performed what I have herein bequeathed, or shall hereafter in any codicill or codicilla bequeathe and order to be donne: as to God and me, he will answere when accompt shall be taken of just and unjust dealings, and specially of deceiving trust reposed, and yet more specially of deceiving the trust of the last will of the dead.

And I doe earnestly desire my good friende Sir Thomas Lake, and young Martin, and Nicholas Steward to be overseers of this my will, and to advise and direct my executor by their counsell. And my will is that my executor be directed by them, and that if any doubt arise concerning the meaninge of any clause or clauses therein, that the interpretation should be to them referred, and howso by them made to stand so finally.

And I give and bequeathe to eache of them, for their pains, one hundred ounces of plate. So I take my leave of the world, and most humbly desire God of his goodnesse to receive my spirit when it shall be his good pleasure to appoint the time of my dissolution.

The above is all that is contained in the Harleian MSS. The following particulars are extracted from Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*:—

£600 allowed for the expences of his funeral, if it be thought requisite to be done in any solemne manner: if otherwise, the residew [sic] to be given to the poor.

He bequeathed to sisters surviving, and to the sons and two daughters of his brothers and sisters, and the rest of his kindred, considerable legacies, as likewise to all his other relations.

To the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, £1000.

To Peter Mulcaster, the son of his schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster, £10; to his godsons, to his domestics, and to several friends; to the several prisoners in the King's Bench and other prisons in Southwark, and London, and Winchester; and to several hospitals in London and Southwark; to the poor of several parishes, as of St. Giles' in the Fields where he had been vicar, All Hallows Barking in the Tower, and of other parishes and places, to which he had any relation; of the cities of Chester, Ely, and Winchester.

To the binding of poor boys to be apprentices, especially orphans, £200.

To poor widows above the age of 50 years, the wives of one husband, £100.

To poor people who, by reason of age or impotency, are past their labour, £100.

To the marriage of poor maidens who have continued in service with one master and mistress by the space of seven years, £100.

To the settling of young beginners in trades or handicrafts, to be lent them freely upon good security, so as not to exceed the sum of £10 to any one man, nor above the term of three years in the whole, £200.

To the mending of the highways in any of the dioceses where he had been bishop, £100.

To the repair of bridges which are in decay and need reparation in any of the said dioceses, £50.

To be bestowed in rings to particular friends, £100.

His executor, John Parker, citizen of London; overseers, Sir Thomas Lake, Sir Henry Martin, and Dr. Nicholas Steward: to each of which one hundred ounces of plate.

To the poor men (in number equal to the years of his age) who shall attend at his funeral, a good warm cassock, a pair of breeches, a pair of stockings, a pair of shoes, and a hat.

This will was made 22 Sept. 1626, *Regis Caroli. 2<sup>do</sup>*.



## IN THE FIRST CODICIL.

To the master, fellows, and scholars of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, the sum of £1000, to purchase lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of £50, to found and maintain two fellows, above the ordinary number of fellows, and to be equal to them in every respect, as to chambers, wages, and all manner of dividends and emoluments; and £20 more towards their charge in purchasing and in using and retaining of council, for the better settlement of the purchase.

## IN THE SECOND CODICIL.

To the executor or administrator, £2000 for the purchasing of lands of the clear yearly value of £100 or more, above all charges and deductions; and to infeoff the same to several persons to be named by him, to employ for the uses following; to the relief of poor impotent persons, fatherless children, aged widows, and poor prisoners, to each of these four sorts yearly £25.

That another £2000, which he designed to buy in impropriations,<sup>1</sup> which he does revoke and make void, shall be laid out in purchasing another £100 a year for the use of the poor, to be paid quarterly, and to be disposed of as the first £100.

The executor to have £500; and the remainder of his goods unbequeathed to be distributed amongst his kindred and servants.

Through the kind communication of the present master of Pembroke, a few additional particulars

<sup>1</sup> As is well known, a few years before this time a corporation had been formed to buy in impropriations for the professed object of restoring them to the vicarages which they had impoverished. It was soon discovered that the real object of the feoffees was to apply the impropriations to the establishment of lectureships in aid of puritanism. Bishop Andrewes seems to have been amongst the first to detect the imposition.

relating to the bishop's bequests to that college are subjoined.

He bequeathed to the college by will, dated 22 Sept. 1626, £1000, to found two fellowships, and to augment as well other stipends, as those of Dr. Watts' senior scholars.

He also devised to the college the living of Rawreth in Essex.

He also gave to the college by will fac-similes of a bason and ewer, and of a cup called "My Lady's Cup," of silver gilt, the gifts, about three hundred years before by the religious foundress, Maria de Valentia, Countess of Pembroke; and these he professed, says Isaacson, he caused to be made and given, not for the continuance of his own memory, but for fear that those which *she* had given so long since might miscarry, and so *her* remembrance might decay.

These doubtless were sent by the college to King Charles I. It is known that the college sent plate to him, and that they retained the original *cup*, and that they had not Bishop Andrewes' plate at the Restoration of King Charles II.

He had also promised to give to the college such books in his own library as were not in theirs; but he omitted this in his will. However, the kindness of his executor procured for the college 370 vols. There is no reason to suppose that any of these books are wanting in the college library.

Pembroke College possesses the bishop's autograph; and there is also a small painting on wood—a portrait of him, taken by some fellow (it is thought) in the dining-hall without his knowledge.

*See: Winton* <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taken from a document in Whitaker's "History of Craven."



**LIFE OF HENRY HAMMOND, D.D.**

**"The excellent Dr. Hammond, the noblest, perhaps, of the noble band who were persecuted for the Church's sake, in the days of King Charles the First."**

**KEBLE.**





DR. HENRY HAMMOND.

London: J. Byrne Portman Street.

Biography of English Divines.

---

THE LIFE

OF

HENRY HAMMOND, D.D.

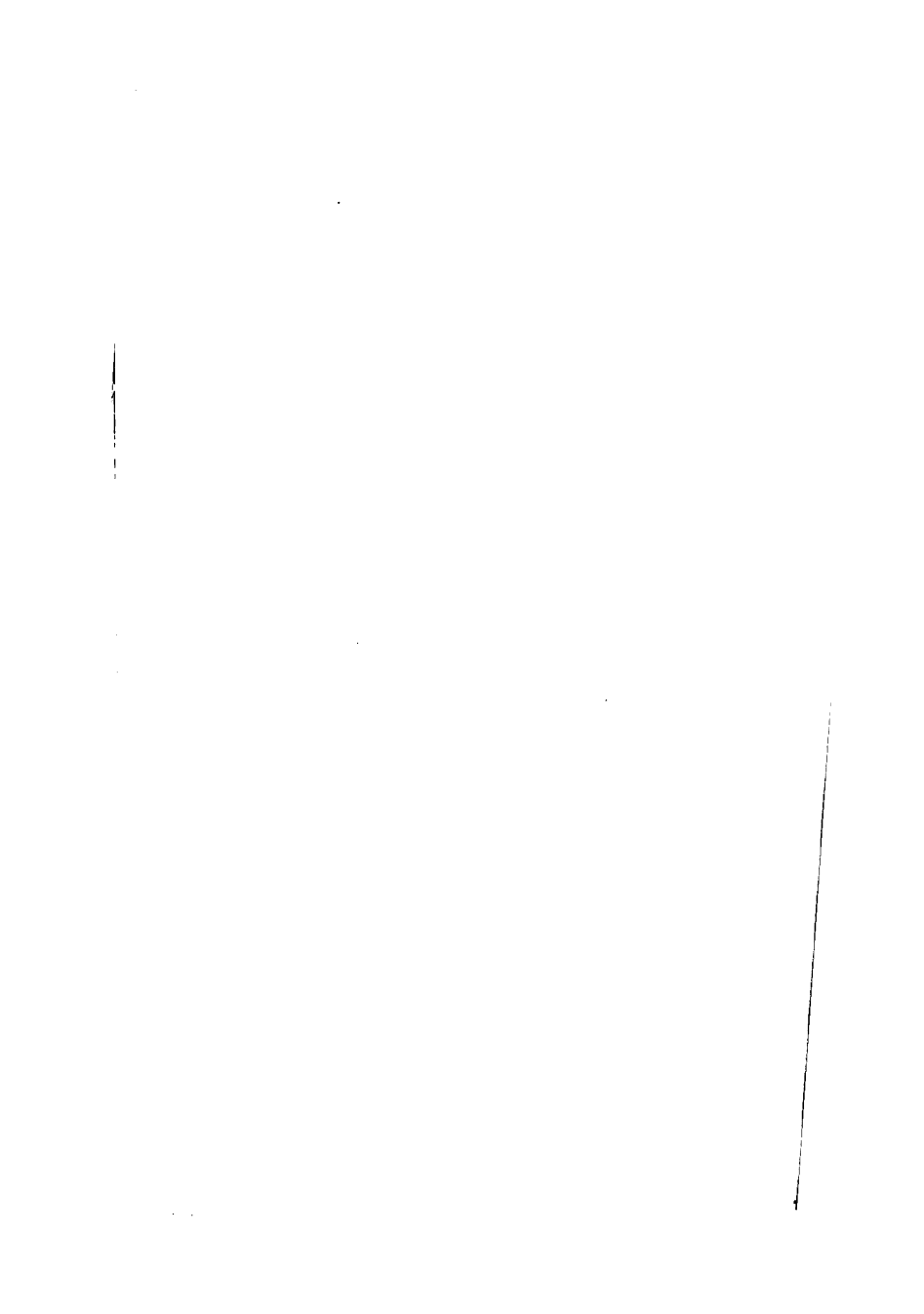
---

LONDON:

JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,  
AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.

mdcccxlx.





**The Life**  
**OF**  
**HENRY HAMMOND, D.D.**

---

**DR. HAMMOND** was born at Chertsey in Surrey, on the 18th of August, 1605, to the richest of all inheritances—learned and pious parents. His father was Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and physician to the lamented Prince Henry, brother of Charles I. His mother, a woman of ancient virtue, was descended from the family of that well-known worthy of the English Church, Alexander Nowell, “a man,” to borrow good Izaak Walton’s description of him, “that, on the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth, and that of Henry VIII., was so noted for his meek spirit, deep learning, prudence, and piety, that the then parliament and

convocation both chose, enjoined and trusted him to be the man to make a Catechism for public use, such a one as should stand as a rule for faith and manners to their posterity." To this well-merited panegyric, it must in fairness be added that, in the convocation here alluded to, (1652,) of which Nowell was prolocutor, he was amongst those who favoured many changes for the worse in the English Liturgy.<sup>1</sup>

The regard in which the elder Hammond was held by the prince must have been great, as he stood sponsor for his son, and permitted him to be named after himself.

Young Henry acquired the rudiments of his education in the best of all schools, his father's house; and so rapid was his progress that, when at the age of seven, and yet in long coats, he was removed to Eton, he had made considerable advance in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Such a prodigy of learning, Hebrew being then little studied, soon attracted the notice of his superiors, and Mr. Allen, one of the fellows at Eton, who greatly assisted Sir Henry Savile in editing "St. Chrysostom," voluntarily superintended his Greek studies. Nor was Hammond's sweetness of disposition and piety less early developed than his intellectual superiority.

<sup>1</sup> Collier, ii. 486.

In the contentions of his school-fellows he never took any part; and even in play-hours he was known frequently to steal away to some place of retirement, where he might pray and meditate alone. This love of retirement, and want of sympathy in the pursuits of his equals in years, excited the fears of his tutor, as if auguring dullness, and likely to "end only in a laborious, well-read non-proficiency." But the alarm was unfounded, for at the age of thirteen he was pronounced fit for the University. For the school of his boyhood he ever retained the most affectionate regard, and the recollection of the time he had spent there remained fresh on his memory amid all the eventful circumstances of his future career. A few weeks before his death he acknowledged the receipt of a volume of sermons from Dr. Ingelo, vice-provost of Eton, in these words, "It is very long since I had the least conversation with my very much loved old friend, Eton College; and there are no means whereby I am better pleased to renew it. About a year and three quarters since I was as near as the way between Itcham and old Windsor lead me."

In the year 1618 he proceeded from Eton to St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford; and so far was he advanced beyond the youths of his time that eight bachelors are said to have become his pupils

in Greek, and four masters in Hebrew. Besides these pupils, his superior—indeed, for one so young, his wonderful—attainments, gained him a demyship about a year after his entrance, and eventually a fellowship. In 1622 he attained his first degree (December 11); and just before he took his master's, (June 30, 1625,) at the early age of twenty, he was appointed lecturer of natural philosophy in his college; and, two years afterwards, was selected to pronounce the funeral oration on the death of the deserving president, Dr. Langton.

Having graduated in arts, he determined to commence the study of theology, preparatory to receiving, at the canonical age, holy orders. Fortunately, however, he did not carry his intention into immediate execution; for, had he done so, he would have fallen into the too common error of that age, and devoted himself to the study of popular systems of theology, culled from the writings of the foreign reformers. It was well, therefore, that he thought fit to pursue those secular studies a little longer, of his proficiency and powers in which he has left such abundant evidence in the indexes said to be still remaining, which he prefixed to every work of eminence in philosophy and classical literature. Meanwhile, his views as to the course to be adopted in the study of divinity underwent a salutary change. Renouncing

the systems of Luther and Calvin, he acted upon the instructions of a royal injunction issued a few years before (A.D. 1616): "That young students in divinity should be directed to study such books as were most agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and be excited to bestow their time on the fathers and councils, schoolmen and controversies, and not to insist too long upon compendiums and abbreviations, making them the grounds of their sacred study."<sup>1</sup> In conformity with this injunction, Hammond commenced his sacred studies with Vedelius' edition of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, a work which, though originally published at Geneva (1623) for the purpose of establishing the presbyterian platform, thoroughly convinced Hammond that three orders of ministers in the Church were of apostolical institution.

Of Hammond's personal friends while at Oxford little is known. Probably his friendship with Jeremy Taylor, and Sanderson, though many years his senior, commenced there; as did also his acquaint-

<sup>1</sup> See Collier, ii. 708. A canon had been passed in the convocation of 1571 of the same import as regards preachers. "In the first place, let preachers take care that they never teach anything in the way of preaching, which they wish to be retained religiously and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from that doctrine."—*Canon Eccles. Anglic.* xix. A.D. 1571.

ance with Hyde, the future historian, who was of the same college, read with Hammond's intimate friend Oliver, and graduated in the year 1625. Nor is it likely that Lord Falkland's hospitable mansion at Great Tew,—“a college secluded in a purer air,”—open to all the eminent scholars of that age, would be closed against Henry Hammond, among the most distinguished of them all. This supposition is confirmed by Hammond having, after the fall of this unparalleled nobleman, defended one of his theological treatises against the attacks of the Romanists.

It was a circumstance apparently accidental that removed him from the thoughtful privacy of academic life. Two or three years after his admission to holy orders, (1629,) Dr. Frewen, then the president of Magdalene, and subsequently Archbishop of York, had so high an opinion of Hammond's character and attainments that he deputed him (1633) to supply his place as king's chaplain, and preach before the court. It happened that the Earl of Leicester was one of the auditors on that occasion; and so struck was he at the powers of the preacher that, though a perfect stranger, he offered him the vacant living of Penshurst, Kent, of which the earl was patron. This gratifying offer was accepted; and he was inducted into the rectory the ensuing August. Penshurst

has long been celebrated as the scene of chivalry and genius. Here it was that Sir Philip Sydney lived, Jonson and Waller sang, and all the beauty of the age associated.

“Are days of old familiar to thy mind,  
O reader? Hast thou let the midnight hour  
Pass unperceived, whilst thou in fancy lived  
With high-born beauties and enamoured chiefs,  
Showing their hopes, and with a breathless joy  
Whose expectation touched the verge of pain,  
Following their dangerous fortunes? If such love  
Hath ever thrilled thy bosom, thou wilt tread  
As with a pilgrim’s reverential thoughts  
The groves of Penshurst.”

SOUTHEY.

It was a happy day for “the groves of Penshurst,” now dearer to English churchmen for the sake of Hammond than for their connexion with the chivalrous Sydney, when he became rector of the parish. He soon refuted the common fallacy, that men of studious habits and profound attainments are unfitted for the active duties of a parish priest. Never was any man more indefatigable in the discharge of those duties, or more duly impressed by a sense of their awful responsibility, than Hammond. He completely exemplified, in whatever he did, the apostolic motto he had chosen, *I seek not yours, but you;* and showed that it was the sincere conviction of his heart, when



he exclaimed, "O, what a glorious thing! how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life were it to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul!" In the preparation of his sermons—not the shallow undigested effusions of extemporaneous verbosity—he bestowed much thought and labour; for no sooner had he delivered a discourse on one Lord's-day than he set about fixing upon the subject of that of the next.<sup>1</sup> By this plan his whole week's reading became auxiliary to his sermon, as he always found something in his studies bearing upon the subject he intended to handle. So serviceable did he find this method, that he was accustomed to recommend it to the young clergy of his acquaintance; none of whom, it is presumed, adopted it without experiencing its advantage. The style and topics of his sermons, did none remain to us, might be inferred from what he has written on the subject of preaching.

"For preaching," he observes, "or exhorting the people by way of homily, it appears to have been received from the Jewish by the Christian Church; and by the phrase by which it is expressed

<sup>1</sup> A similar plan was followed by Dr. Donne. "After his sermon," says Walton, "he never gave his eyes rest till he had chosen out a new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions."—*Life*, p. 131, ed. Zouch, vol. i.

in the Acts, (a word of exhortation to the people,) it appears to have been generally employed in reprehension of vices and exhortation to virtuous living. And if we survey the homilies of the ancient Church, (such as those of St. Chrysostom most eminently,) we shall discern that, as upon the high festival-days, the subject of the homily was constantly the business of the day, the clearing the mystery, the Incarnation of Christ, His Resurrection and Ascension, and the manifestation and gifts of the Holy Spirit; or, again, on the commemoration-days of saints, by recommending the actions and sufferings of apostles and martyrs, to raise men's hearts to acknowledge the goodness of God in setting up such exemplary patterns and guides before them—so upon other days, after some short literal explication of some place of Scripture, the custom was not to raise doctrinal points, according to every preacher's judgment or fancy, but presently to fall to exhortation to temperance, continence, patience, and the like Christian virtues, which either the propriety of the text, or the wants and sins of the auditory, or the times suggested to them. And this is so far from being a fault in the method of preaching, that it was an eminent exemplary part of Christian prudence, observable and imitable in them, as a means of keeping false or unnecessary

definitions out of the Church, which tend to the increase of dispute and contentions, and whilst they do so are not to the edification and benefit, but to the destruction and mischief of the hearers.”<sup>1</sup>

While such were the general topics of Hammond’s discourses, his delivery of them was so impressive that Charles I. declared he was the most natural orator he ever heard. But it must not be imagined that preaching, and the preparation for it, comprised the whole of his ministerial labours. He well knew that, though preaching teaches the people how to worship God, prayer is the worship of God itself, and therefore more characteristic of the priest’s office, as well as more beneficial to the people. While he preached once a week, with the assistance of a curate, to whom he allowed a liberal stipend, he celebrated public prayer once daily, and twice on festivals and their eves, and on Saturdays. Nor did he perform these holy services in a mere perfunctory manner. His whole heart was breathed into his devotions; and in the confession he was frequently known to have found motives for tears. At the daily service, his own household was always present; for he well knew how vain it was to urge such a duty upon others, while those under his immediate rule were violating it. His excellent

<sup>1</sup> See “Discourse of Fundamentals.” Works, vol. i. p. 497.

mother superintended his domestic affairs. On first going to Penshurst, he had formed, in compliance with the wishes of his friends, a resolution of marrying, but, when he found that the lady whom he would have chosen was likely to be sought by one of higher rank and fortune than himself, he generously forbore to press his suit. When his mother became infirm, he again turned his thoughts to matrimony; but the state of the time seeming to make the apostle's admonition obligatory, (1 Cor. vii. 26,) he renounced the idea altogether, and never entertained it afterwards.

Finding the celebration of the Holy Communion sadly infrequent in Penshurst, he approximated in some degree to the intention of the Church by administering the Sacrament monthly, and on the great festivals. Some notion of the number of communicants may be formed from the fact that the alms collected at the offertory were sufficient not only to relieve the poor of the parish, thereby rendering a parochial rate for that purpose unnecessary, but also to form a fund for apprenticing the children of indigent parents to some honest trade. And even then a surplus remained, to be distributed among neighbouring parishes for like objects. How sad it is to know that this ancient and prescribed mode of collecting alms for the poor,

and other devotions of the people, has too generally given way to collections made during the singing of hymns, after the exciting appeals of popular preachers. Surely the Church's way is the more Christian, which teaches us to offer our gifts to God, and not to man, however eloquent he may be. Besides this is well known to be the most successful method also; and it would seem as if God increased the gift as well as sanctified it.

But he did not allow the charity of others to be any substitute for the exercise of his own. Besides devoting a tenth of his income to charitable purposes, he set apart a certain sum weekly as a fund for distributing daily alms. Moreover, in order to save his poorer parishioners the trouble and consequent loss of time in attending market, as well as the expense of portorage, he was accustomed to purchase large quantities of corn, which he retailed to them far below the cost-price. His moderation also in collecting tithes was highly commendable, and a great improvement upon the very questionable, if not absolutely unscriptural, plan of commutation now forced upon the clergy. It happened on one occasion that, after he had received part of the tithe due to him upon a large meadow, the crops were much damaged by a flood. When the tenant came to pay the remainder of the tithe, the generous

rector not only refused to receive it, but returned the former payment, at the same time observing, "God forbid that I should take the tenth when you have not the nine parts."

In every parish there are many to whom loans are more beneficial than gifts, inasmuch as lending—and the observation is as old as Cornelius Nepos, who makes it in his life of Atticus—teaches men to be thrifty and laborious, whereas giving or suffering them not to repay makes them sluggish and beggars. Hammond was in the habit of lending sums of money, which he was willing to receive without interest at such times and in such proportions as might be most convenient to the borrower. A free loan to the poor he considered to be a seasonable mercy; "from whence," I conclude, he remarks, "in explaining the matter in his 'Practical Catechism,' I must not require use any more than I must deny alms to him that wants it, when I have it to spare." On the other hand, he conceived it to be quite lawful "to receive interest from the rich, if it be so done as not to bring reproach or censure of worldly-mindedness or illiberality upon me, especially if I be a clergyman; for by the canons of ancient councils<sup>1</sup> they are forbidden many

<sup>1</sup> See Life of Bishop Andrewes, p. 33. Robertson is clearly wrong in considering this prohibition to have been general. He

things of this nature which are not forbidden others; much more that it be not an act of a covetous mind, but only a way of subsisting on the small portion my friends have left me." Good advice as to making a right use of them, and prayer to God for His blessing, always accompanied these loans. Indeed the advice which he gave to his richer friends in reference to the poor, he carried out most completely himself—"to treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness that they might be glad to have met with them." Though time was to him far more precious than money, he was equally liberal of either; whenever the poor required them. For while he would often deny himself necessary recreation, and the society of his equals, in order to prosecute his studies, never was he known to turn away a poor parishioner who wished to speak with him. The call of such he was ever ready cheerfully to obey. Not that he neglected the entertainment of his richer neighbours. Knowing how social intercourse of this kind would endear them to his person, and how powerful the endearing of his person would be to the recommending his instructions, he often,

says "that the Fathers of the Church had preposterously applied the prohibitions of usury in Scripture to the payment of legal interest." See *View of State of Europe*, prefixed to History of Charles V.

chiefly on Sundays<sup>1</sup> and the Christmas Festival, called them round his frugal, yet hospitable board. To modern ears it may sound strange that such entertainments should have been reserved for the Sunday and other festivals of the Church. Probably if we, like Hammond, were accustomed to humble our souls with fasting on those days on which the Church enjoins it, we should, like him, also consider that we might best call our friends and neighbours to rejoice on those days which the Church has set apart for Christian joyfulness. In the present state of public opinion, it might offend weaker brethren to introduce this custom. Hammond's dinner parties, however, were not like ours; and the Sunday refreshment in the rectory of Penshurst was at once plain, wholesome, and unostentatious. Nothing disgusted him more, it is said, than a luxurious feeder; and he could not understand how any man could eat except for the sake of sustaining

<sup>1</sup> "At night he thinks it a fit time, both suitable to the joy of the day and without hinderance to public duties, either to entertain some of his neighbours or to be entertained of them; where he takes occasion to discourse of such things as are both profitable and pleasant, and to raise up their minds to apprehend God's good blessings to our Church and State; that order is kept in the one, and peace in the other, without disturbance or interruption of public divine offices."—*The Parson on Sundays*. See Herbert's *Country Parson*, c. viii.



life. Accordingly, his own time of eating was, with the exception of a little fruit towards night, once in twenty-four hours, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, and three days during Lent and the Ember weeks, when he only ate once in thirty-six. There was, indeed, nothing that he exercised more restraint over than his appetite; and the reason which he gave for carving for his guests was, that the occupation might prevent his eating overmuch.

Being a minister of peace, he not only endeavoured to live peaceably among all men, but to promote the same blessed end among others; and never was he at peace with himself till he had procured it among any of his parishioners who might be at variance.

The young were the especial objects of his solicitude; and so important a part of his duties did he consider the religious training of the lambs of his flock that, besides catechising them half an hour before evening prayer, during the summer months, in Church, he hired an able schoolmaster to carry out his instructions during the week. His catechetical exercises were attended by old as well as young; and it was a common remark among the parishioners, that they gained more good from them than from his sermons. The groundwork of these instructions was, of course, that inimitable formu-

lary, the Church Catechism, expanded and illustrated by questions of his own, and which, as will be seen, he afterwards put together, and published under the title of a "Practical Catechism."

While the good rector of Penshurst was thus solicitous of the spiritual welfare of his flock, he was not neglectful of the material edifices committed to his preservation. By the annual expenditure of 100*l.*—a considerable sum in those days—he transformed his parsonage, now remaining, from a ruinous hovel to a neat, modest mansion, with suitable gardens and orchards, the produce of which, it will readily be believed, was not confined to the rector's own use. Nor can we suppose that he, who thought it a duty to restore and preserve in repair his own dwelling, would suffer God's house to fall into decay, or to lack any of those decencies and ornaments which become the palace of the King of kings.

Thus admirably it was that Hammond discharged his public parochical duties. Let us now see how truly he lived the life he taught. Of the importance of this "visible rhetoric" no one was more convinced than himself. "Let me tell you," he says, in a discourse addressed to a body of clergy, "that men must have more than sermons to lead them; the visible preaching of your lives must co-operate and join in the work of drawing sinners to God, or else

it will hardly prove successful. You know the story in Gellius, when that excellent counsel was given at Lacedæmon by one that was infamous for a very ill life; they were to take the counsel out of his mouth, and appoint a good man to deliver it, though a worse orator."<sup>1</sup> The important moral here conveyed was well illustrated by the private life of Hammond. His abstemiousness in eating, and his secret fastings, have been already noticed. He was equally temperate in sleep, seldom being in bed before midnight, and not unfrequently out of it at four in the morning. His industry is sufficiently evidenced by the number and laboriousness of his writings still remaining to us. One may easily conceive that he abhorred idleness. "The idle man's brain," he was wont to say, "is not only the devil's shop, but his kingdom too—a model of, and appendage to, hell—a place given up to torment and mischief." There was no moment of the day which had not with him its appointed duty. Even during his walks, his book was his most general companion; and while dressing and undressing in his chamber, his servant read aloud to him. Nor did he permit ordinary sickness, to which, in the form of acute attacks of gout and stone, he was much subject,

<sup>1</sup> See his Sermon, "The Pastor's Motto." Works, vol. iv. p. 545.

to interrupt his studies. And yet, with all his devotedness to his books, prayer was the grand occupation of his life—he studied most upon his knees.

Such was the beauty of his daily life, public and private. Seeking no commendation but the favour of the God he served, and that of his own conscience, and having no other object at heart than the good of the people committed to his charge, he shunned rather than courted public observation or popular favour, which he justly considered to be the meanest office, the vilest submission in the world. In his mind, there was no honour equal to offering the daily sacrifice of praise and prayer to God in His holy temple—no occupation at once so ennobling and agreeable as relieving Christ's poor, instructing the ignorant, visiting the sick, and cheering the dying. He considered the time of sickness, or any other affliction, to be like the cool of the day to Adam, a season of peculiar propriety for the voice of God to be heard by the mouth of His messengers.

But the brilliancy of virtues like his was not likely to be confined within the village of Penshurst; and, however personally ungrateful to him, he never shrunk from the discharge of duties in a more public sphere, when they were fairly urged upon him. Thus he was frequently summoned by the Bishop

of London to preach at St. Paul's Cross.<sup>1</sup> Of the effect produced by his discourses on these occasions a curious instance is preserved. When once preaching on the duty and blessedness of almsgiving, he made so deep an impression upon Dr. Potter, provost of Queen's College, who was one of his hearers, that he became a remarkable example of bountifulness to the poor. Some years afterwards, a friend mentioned this circumstance to Hammond, as a striking instance of the good effects of a word spoken in season, not being at all aware that Hammond was so nearly concerned in the anecdote. He, however, disclosed the fact, and presented his informant with a copy of the very sermon<sup>2</sup> he had alluded to; at the same time expressing a wish that it might produce the same effect upon himself.

After graduating in arts, Hammond had, at the usual interval, proceeded to his B.D.<sup>3</sup> degree, where he would have remained, had he not, in the year 1638, been requested by eleven<sup>4</sup> of his contempo-

<sup>1</sup> See Life of Bishop Andrewes, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> "The Poor Man's Tithing, preached in St. Paul's Church, before the Lord Mayor and Alderman of the City of London. April 12, 1640." Works, iv. p. 548.

<sup>3</sup> B.D. incepted January 28, admitted January 24, 1633; D.D. March 7, 1638-9. Wood, *Fasti. Ox.* Athen. Ox. ii. pp. 406, 423, 469, 502.

<sup>4</sup> This is stated on the authority of Fell. In Wood's "*Fasti*" the names of four only are recorded. Vol. i. p. 502.

raries, of the same college and year, to take his doctor's degree. His performance of the act on that occasion was very superior, and without any of that unreadiness which is usually contracted in a country life.

In the following year, he was summoned to the memorable convocation which met before the Long Parliament. He was also nominated by the parliament a member of the Assembly of Divines; but his loyalty and orthodoxy forbade him to appear among traitors and heretics. In the same year, (1643,) an honour more worthy his acceptance was bestowed upon him by Dr. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, who appointed him Archdeacon of Chichester. The influence which this important office gave him among the clergy was employed in promoting that peace, unity, and obedience then so needful. On one occasion, when addressing a body of clergy, he was so carried away from his usual diffidence, by a sense of the importance of his subject, "that he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his auditory" with very good effect. But, alas! while Hammond was labouring for peace, others were making themselves ready for battle. The efforts of the latter were permitted, in God's inscrutable providence, to prevail. And when, soon

after the beginning of that fearful conflict, a demonstration was made in behalf of the king, in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells, to which the example of Hammond's loyalty as well as his teaching was thought to have been instrumental, he was compelled to secure his safety by flight. Thus was he driven away from his loved and loving parishioners.

When Hammond left Penshurst, he first took refuge with his former tutor, Dr. Buckner, then rector of Mertsam, Surrey, with whom he had not resided many days before his friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver arrived for the same purpose. After remaining there about three weeks, the offer of a reward of 100*l.* for the capture of Hammond convinced him that he could no longer hold his present hiding-place with safety; so he readily acceded to Dr. Oliver's invitation to accompany him to Winchester, then one of the king's garrisons. While proceeding thither, their course was unexpectedly changed. A messenger met Oliver with the intelligence that Dr. Frewen, the president of Magdalene College, was elected to the See of Lichfield, and that he was chosen to fill the vacant office<sup>1</sup> (April, 1644). This

<sup>1</sup> Oliver was Archbishop Laud's domestic chaplain. After he was expelled from his presidentship in 1647, he suffered the greatest privations, till about a fortnight before the Restoration he regained his preferment. He was afterwards made Dean of

at once determined Oliver to bend his steps towards Oxford, where he also urged Hammond to accompany him. To this proposal he at first refused to assent, as he thought its distance from Penshurst would make his return to his beloved parishioners less hopeful. But this objection was at last overruled; and he once again found himself in his old quarters. In this retirement, or rather asylum,—for a military garrison and the residence of a court, as Oxford then was, can scarcely be called a place of retirement,—he devoted himself to his own, and the superintendence of others' studies. About the same time it was that the first of his many works appeared, to instruct and bless the world. It has already been observed that, when at Penshurst, he was accustomed, in conformity with the rubric, to catechise his younger parishioners from a form which he had composed for his own private use. On coming to Oxford, he showed this work to his friend Dr. Potter, already mentioned, the successful opponent of Knott the Jesuit, who was so struck at its many excellences that he Worcester, but dying within about a year he left all he had to charitable uses, except a legacy sealed up in a paper to Sir Edward Hyde, the lord chancellor, who had been his pupil at college, and through whose influence he had obtained his deanery. Wood describes Oliver as a most learned, meek, and pious person. See *Fasti. Ox.* Athen. Ox. ii. p. 509.



strongly urged the publication of it, at the same time offering to superintend it through the press, and bear whatever expense might be incurred. After considerable persuasion, the diffident writer consented in part to this arrangement; and, at their joint expense, "The Practical Catechism" appeared, anonymously, in the year 1644. This admirable work is written in the form of a dialogue between a scholar and catechist; and the principal points on which it treats are the doctrine of the first and second covenants, together with the difference; the names and the offices of Christ; the names of the three theological graces, faith, hope, and charity, together with self-denial, repentance, or regeneration; the difference and dependence between justification and sanctification; and, lastly, the thorough understanding of our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount;<sup>1</sup> besides an exposition of the creed, the sacraments, and the vow of baptism. To the value of this work many testimonies might be adduced. "I cannot tell how it may be valued by others," says Dr. Potter, "(for though we have but one truth, we have many sides,) I know how it ought to be, I know how it is by

<sup>1</sup> In a letter written in after-life to a friend who had sought his advice respecting a course of study for a pupil, he says, "I know no other politickes (I am sure none fit for a Christian) than strict rules of living from the Sermon on the Mount."

me, whom not only with King Agrippa's almost, but with St. Paul's altogether, I hope it hath persuaded me to become a practical Christian. Persuaded, did I say? It is too narrow an expression. At the reading hereof, methinks, with St. Paul, I am caught and wrapt up beyond the pitch and stature of these poor sublunary things below, counting all, as indeed they are, but noisome things in respect of those high and precious truths taught by this author. And I humbly beseech God that it may have the like energy in the breasts of all that shall read it; that we may have less talking, less writing, less fighting for religion, and more practice; that when our great Lord and Master comes, he may not find us so talking, so writing, so fighting, but so doing." To this high, yet deserved, testimony in its favour, that of our blessed martyr Charles I. may be added, who, in his dying advice to his children, recommended the "Practical Catechism" as a most safe and sound guide in religion. Nevertheless, the principles of order and obedience which it inculcated were too greatly opposed to the spirit of the time to escape censure. Accordingly, we find that Francis Cheynel, one of the rebel divines, the officious intruder upon Chillingworth's last moments, and the fierce calumniator of his memory, attacked it in the University-pulpit. On being informed of

this public denunciation, Hammond demanded from his assailant the exact words he had used on the occasion; and a voluminous correspondence was the result, in which Hammond's learning and modesty stand out in pleasing contrast to the ignorance and impudence of his traducer. The ministers of London also, shortly afterwards, excepted against certain passages of the work, in which he had asserted; in opposition to the Calvinistic dogma, the scriptural doctrine that our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind. In answer to this attack, Hammond sent forth a "Brief Vindication." It was also in reference to this controversy that a friendly correspondence took place between himself, Dr. Pierce, and Sanderson, the latter of whom was in consequence induced to change his opinion in respect of the quinquarticular controversy, and, what is more, had the ingenuousness to confess it—a course which, if followed by others, would make our "nation become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations."<sup>1</sup>

In the same year in which the Catechism appeared, Hammond published, still anonymously, treatises of "Conscience," "Scandal," "Will-worship," and "Superstition." "I have long thought," says the

<sup>1</sup> Walton's "Life of Sanderson." Lives, vol. ii. p. 503, ed. Zouch.

writer in his preface, "that the vulgar notions of those four names, which these ensuing treatises have taken confidence to examine, have had no small part of the guilt of those fatal evils under which this calamitous wretched kingdom now pants, a prostrate, ghastly, and direful spectacle; and, consequently, that these obstructing of the fountains might possibly abate those streams and torrents (which have taken rise from thence) of uncharitableness first, and then of blood. The mistaking of every fancy or humour, carnal or satanical persuasion, for conscience, (the acknowledged rule of action,) and the setting up upon too weak a stock for that high privilege of a good conscience, hath emboldened most of the vices of the world, petrified the practical faculty, and made it insensible of any of those stripes, or threats, or discipline which the law of nature or of Christ hath provided for the restraints of their subjects. . . . To these so great errors, both in opinion and practice, the present height of animosity and vehemence of the flame may possibly have betrayed men; but what it should be that hath so heightened the passion, and first elevated it to this pitch of distemper, will not be discerned any otherwise than by conjecture from the quarrels that have been most insisted on against the established government and discipline of the Church, and the

indifferent actions, and ceremonies, and observances, either prescribed or customary, among us, to which, when no direct immediate blame or accusation could be affixed, it hath been the manner to object obliquely; sometimes that they have been matter of scandal, and that thought to have been sufficiently proved, if any could be produced who have disliked them (as if their being displeased were to be scandalised, or any man's being angry once without a cause were for ever just cause for others to be angry at that which were of itself most innocent); sometimes that the crime of *will-worship* were chargeable on them,—supposing first, but not proving, will-worship to be a crime, and then every the least observance uncommanded (though withal as perfectly unprohibited) by Scripture to be the interpretation of that crime; and sometimes that they have been superstitious, by the equivocallness of that word, first persuading themselves and others that every excess in religion comes under that title, and then that the uncommandedness of anything induces that excess, and consequently involves in that guilt." As antidotes or cures to "these scandalous misprisions of Satan," these treatises were written; and as the disease is not yet eradicated, they may be profitably consulted by many of our own day.

We must now contemplate Hammond's conduct in a more public capacity. In December, 1644, he went as chaplain to the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Southampton, who were sent by the king from Oxford with a message of peace to the parliament; for at this time the affairs both of the king and parliament were in a very precarious state. The king had recently returned from an unsuccessful expedition in the west, while in the north his cause was all but desperate. The parliament also was torn by opposite factions, and had just broached what was called the *self-denying ordinance*, whereby no member of parliament was allowed to hold or retain any office in the state or army; an expedient for getting rid of the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary-general, who had long been suspected by the rebels. Either party suffering, therefore, from the effects of this "most accursed war," the present was thought a favourable juncture for proposing a cessation of hostilities. The royal intentions, however, were as usual defeated: the king's message met with a cool reception, and the commissioners left London with nothing more definite than that some third place should be appointed for its further consideration. Uxbridge was the place finally fixed upon, where, in the beginning of the following February, the com-

missioners from the king and parliament assembled, sixteen of either side, besides four Scotch commissioners. These were accompanied by several divines to argue the religious matters in debate between them. Hammond was one of the king's chaplains, who attended and took a leading part in the discussion. He defended the divine right of episcopacy against the presbyterian Vines, who, instead of disputing scholastically and extempore, as was agreed upon, read a long declamation on the subject, thereby hoping to take his opponent by surprise. But Hammond was not to be baffled by this manœuvre. He took short notes during the reading of the thesis; and on its conclusion threw the whole force of his massive learning upon the arguments, or rather fallacies, that had been adduced, to the bewilderment of Mr. Vines and his party: notwithstanding which the latter had the hardihood to report that Hammond himself was worsted, and in the agony of defeat swore, by God and the holy angels, that he had no reply ready, but that he could answer his opponent,—a calumny which he thoroughly disproved in a letter which he wrote some years afterwards (January 22, 1655) on the subject. "I am both sure," he modestly declares, "that I never called God and his holy angels to witness anything in my life,

nor ever swore one voluntary oath that I know of (and sure there was none then imposed upon me); and that I was not at that meeting conscious to myself of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to waive the answer of anything objected."

During the treaty at Uxbridge, a canonry fell vacant in Christ Church, which the king conferred upon Hammond; he was also soon afterwards chosen public orator of the University,—preferments, honourable as they were, which he would willingly have foregone could he have returned to his beloved Penshurst. But this was impracticable; so he set himself about diligently discharging the duties of his new functions, as well as in instructing the youth of his college, an occupation in which he took great delight. Nor did he confine himself to instruction alone. To indigent scholars his purse was ever open; and many were they, both at Cambridge and Oxford, who shared its bounty. Among those at the former University was no less a person than Isaac Barrow, then just gone to reside at Trinity, whose father, ruined by his loyalty, was unable to support him. There was now also a young man at Oxford the recipient of his bounty, of whom a passing notice



should be given. When at Penshurst, he observed in the son of a parishioner, named Fulman, an honest carpenter, more indications of intellect and character than are usually found in that station of life. The good rector becoming interested in the youth, he took him under his own tuition, and when driven from Penshurst brought him to Oxford. Here, through Hammond's influence, he obtained a place in the noble choir of Magdalene College, and subsequently a scholarship at Corpus Christi. When afterwards ejected, together with his patron, by the parliamentary visitors, he became his amanuensis, in which capacity he continued till he obtained a tutorship in a distinguished family in Warwickshire. At the restoration he was re-admitted to his scholarship, received a degree in arts, and holy orders, married a grand-daughter of Bishop Manwaring, and gained valuable preferment, which might have been still more considerable, had not his independent spirit and moroseness of disposition stood in his way. He was a man of extensive learning, particularly in those branches of theology and history in which his patron excelled. Though he wrote a great deal, he did not publish much; but it should not be forgotten that it is to William Fulman that we are indebted for the complete

edition of Hammond's writings. He collected materials for his life, as well as the lives of Charles I., John Hales of Eton, and other eminent men, the manuscripts of which are still preserved in the college to which he belonged. He was also the friend and literary adviser of Anthony Wood, the well-known Oxford antiquary; and he communicated to Izaak Walton several facts about Hooker, particularly the day of his death, which Walton duly acknowledges.<sup>1</sup>

Besides befriending poor scholars,—for which, as regards Barrow, he was duly eulogised in one of his Latin works,—Hammond continued his literary labours. In the year 1645, in addition

<sup>1</sup> See Life of Hooker prefixed to Keble's edition of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," p. 89, note 3. There are only two volumes of Fulman's MSS. which contain anything about Hammond. In vol. xii. are (1.) Some account [by Fulman] of his life and writings. This is very brief, giving little more than the dates of his birth, degrees, ordination, preferments, works, &c. (2.) A very brief letter by Woodgate, describing his manner of life, discharge of ministerial duties, &c. (3.) A Latin letter from Bishop Hall, thanking him for his treatise *De Episcopatus Jurisdictione*. (4.) The Epitaphium as given in his works. There is also a note by Fulman to the effect that the portrait published was not like Hammond. Vol. xvi. contains letters between Bishop Fell, Fulman, Sir Norton Knatchbull, and Matthew Poole, on a passage in the Prolegomena to the Synopsis, in which Sir Norton had charged Hammond with being a plagiarist from Poole.

to several tracts, he wrote "A View of the New Directory; and a Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England." This Directory was one of the productions of that Assembly of Divines, as they were miscalled, among which, though nominated, Hammond, as already observed, disdained to appear. It had been summoned by the rebel parliament as an ally to its destructive designs. For finding that it was impossible to uproot the civil constitution so long as the Church existed to overawe its assailants, and knowing also that the Church of England must exist so long as the Book of Common Prayer continued to keep alive her doctrines and ceremonies, the grand aim of the parliament was to abolish the use of the Liturgy. That such was the purpose for which the assembly was summoned, the preamble of the parliamentary ordinance which convened it shows. "For that," observes this precious document,<sup>1</sup> "as yet many things remain in the Liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation than as yet hath been attained . . . . it is thought fit and necessary to call an assembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines," &c. The result of such a mock delibe-

<sup>1</sup> Collier, ii. p. 823.

ration could only be one. "In an assembly in which, out of one hundred and twenty members who composed it, they were not above twenty," says Clarendon,<sup>1</sup> "who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England"—in such an assembly, it was not to be expected that the Liturgy of the Church they despised would be tolerated. Accordingly, on the 3rd of January and the 23rd of August, 1645, ordinances of parliament were issued for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and putting in execution the Directory for the public worship of God, on pain of heavy penalties for non-compliance. These illegal orders having been given, the king, on the 13th of November following, issued, from the court at Oxford, a proclamation commanding the use of the Prayer-book according to law, notwithstanding those pretended ordinances, or "printed papers," as they were designated in the proclamation. It was to encourage obedience to this royal injunction that Ham-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. ii. 424.

mond came forward with his "Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, and Review of the Directory," which was intended to supplant it. And never was any vindication more triumphant, or any contrast more strongly drawn. One or two passages, as being well worthy the attention of English churchmen of the present day, can only be quoted here. "There is not," he truly remarks in the preface, "a surer evidence by which to discern the great excellency of moderation in that book, and so the apportionateness of it to the end to which it was designed, than the experience of those so contrary fates which it hath constantly undergone betwixt the persecutions on both extreme parts,—the assertors of Papacy on the one side, and the Consistory on the other; the one accusing it of schism, the other of compliance; the one of departure from the Church of Rome, the other of remaining with it; like the poor Greek Church, our fellow-martyr, devoured by the Turk for too much Christian profession, and damned by the pope for too little,—it being the dictate of natural reason in Aristotle that the middle virtue is most infallibly known by this, that it is accused by either extreme as guilty of the other extreme; that the true liberality of mind is by this best exemplified, that it

is defamed by the prodigal for parsimony, and by the niggard for prodigality."

After this just encomium upon the moderation of the English Liturgy, "which was at first as it were written in blood, at the least sealed and delivered down to us by the martyrdom of most of the compilers of it," he concludes his introductory remarks with the awful reflection, that the abolition of the Liturgy may have been permitted by God in judgment upon the supineness and irreverence of Englishmen. "Our so long abuse of this so continued a mercy; our want of diligence in assembling ourselves together (the too ordinary fault of too many of the best of us); our general scandalous, unexcusable disobedience to the commands of our Church, which requires that service to be used constantly in public every day; the vanity of prurient tongues and itching ears, which are still searching after news and variety; but, above all, the want of ardour and fervency in the performance of this prescribed service (which hath given it the fate of that gem, of which the naturalist affirms that if it be put in the mouth of a dead man it loses all its virtue), the coldness and deadness of our hearts, the admitting of all secular company (I mean worldly thoughts) into its presence, preferring all secular business before it

the general irreverence and indifference in the celebrations, — may well be thought to have encouraged Satan to his *expetivit*, to the preferring his petition to God and his importunity at length to have provoked God to deliver up our Liturgy to him and his ministers, to oppose and malign, to calumniate and defame, and at last to gain the countenance of an ordinance to condemn and execute it, as at this day.”

One cannot follow the writer through his Vindication. Suffice it to say, that if the reader wishes to see an answer at once learned, cogent, and irresistible to all puritan objections against our Liturgy, or would contrast its completeness with the baldness of the Directory, he must consult the treatise in question.

The year in which this treatise appeared is well known to have been the most calamitous during the rebellion, and the events of it to have hastened the downfall of the Church and monarchy.<sup>1</sup> The unhappy divisions which prevailed among the king's party, and the disgraceful struggles for personal aggrandizement and distinction, at a time when all private feeling should have been merged in the desire to serve the sovereign, produced

<sup>1</sup> See introduction to Clarendon's ninth book of his History, vol. v. p. 125.

that lamentable disunion and indifference in the royal army which, more than all beside, accelerated the triumph of the rebels. Defeat succeeded defeat in such rapid succession, that Charles thought the only way of securing his personal safety was to entrust himself into the hands of the Scots. Having taken this fatal step, for which the pretence of assistance from France on his doing so may be some excuse, he agreed to advise the surrendering of the few garrisons which yet remained to him. Oxford, then closely besieged by Fairfax, the rebel general, was one. After six months, it was given up to the fury of the rebels; and though "braying trumpets and loud churlish drums, clamours of hell," are not the most favourable to literary pursuits, Hammond, ever anxious to subserve the good cause, produced several treatises, in which he presented the only remedies for the prevailing evils, and instructed the sufferers how to bear them meekly and with patience.<sup>1</sup> In one he exposes the sin then most flagrant, of "resisting the lawful magistrate under colour of religion." In "A Discourse of Fraternal Admonition or Correction," he urges the duty upon every man of warning his brother of any wickedness he may be practising, and, in the event of

<sup>1</sup> "See discourse of "Taking up the Cross."



being unable to convince him, to withdraw from his society ; for, as the writer well observes,—and the observation is worthy of remembrance in an age when the condemnation even of the sins of schism and heresy is pronounced uncharitable,—“when there is not that settled course of strict ecclesiastical discipline, through any defect or disorder in a Church, the abstaining from familiarity or near converse may be the apostle’s counsel, to signify our dislike of those whom our exhortations found so obstinate, and to show that we will deny ourselves those lawful joys of friendship when they prove scandalous to others, either by encouraging them in their sins with whom we converse, or inviting those beholders to the like who will be apt to conceive we do not dislike them.” Of this fraternal correption Hammond was himself a practical instance ; it being his habit never to allow the faults of his friends to pass unreprieved by him, at the same time urging them to use the like freedom towards himself. The main, almost the sole, use of friendship he conceived to be “the advantage of amending and admonishing one another, which, when it begins to cease, or be obstructed, or to grow desperate, friendship is but an empty, formal, juiceless thing, fit enough to be laid aside, being become so perfectly unprofitable.”

But he well knew that fraternal correction alone could not reach the root of that pride and contumacy which had become almost the genius of that profane, polluted age. To eradicate these, he felt that it would be necessary to restore that public authoritative discipline still desiderated in the Communion-service; and with the view of proving this it was, that he wrote his "Treatise of the Power of the Keys, or of Binding and Loosing," in which, after having established the divine institution of this power, he goes on to show on whom it was originally bestowed, wherein it consists, to what sort of men it belongs objectively, what is the real effect of it, or what conjunction it hath with binding and loosing in heaven,<sup>1</sup> concluding with a view of the utility of its exercise. Most readers will be able to anticipate the view taken by the writer; but, however deeply they

<sup>1</sup> "A censure of the Church is a venerable thing, not only casting a Christian out of the Church wherein he is appointed to seek salvation, and of which so long as he is thought unworthy he is incapable of heaven, but withal a superaddition to the band in heaven, by which that sin is made indissoluble before God till it be absolved on earth, or that absolution duly sought from the Church; Christ having affirmed of him that in this case his sins shall not be pardoned there, as, on the other hand, that, being by repentance returned to that capacity, heaven shall return again to be his portion, and that pardon by the promise of Christ become due to him."—Chap. vi. sec. 1.

may have studied the subject, it is impossible for them to peruse Hammond's learned and thoughtful treatise without obtaining a still clearer view of this godly discipline, which one of the homilies pronounces to be a kind of sacrament, and for the restoration of which, by the addition of penitential canons, Hammond considered to be "the almost only piece of reformation which this Church of England may justly be thought to stand in need of." (Preface.)

While Hammond was thus endeavouring to restrain the rebellious and soothe the suffering, the king was basely sold by the perjured Scots into the hands of the parliament, who, under guise of protecting, but in reality for the purpose of securing, his person, removed him to Holdenby House, Northamptonshire. Of all the sad privations which that sacred confessor had undergone, there was none which he felt so keenly as the want of those spiritual advisers, whose counsel, having never neglected in his most prosperous days, he sought still more anxiously in the day of adversity. Accordingly, he wrote from Holdenby to the lords, desiring that some of his chaplains might be sent to him. Of this command,—for such it ought to have been considered,—no notice was taken ; but when, about a fortnight

afterwards, the request was repeated, it was peremptorily refused. "My agony," to use the royal martyr's own words, "must not be relieved by the presence of any one good angel, for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine."<sup>1</sup> Nor was this all. Instead of Hammond, and other pious men, at whose hands he desired to receive the sacred ordinances of the Church, several presbyterian schismatics were sent to him, though of course he did not partake of their sin by joining in their mock ministrations. In this forlorn condition the king continued, till he was dragged by a quondam tailor, Cornet Joyce, from Holdenby, and transferred to the keeping of the army at Newcastle. The independents being a little more consistent than their presbyterian brethren, allowed their sovereign the services of his chaplains; and Dr. Hammond, Sheldon, and Morley attended him at Newmarket, Hampton Court, and the Isle of Wight, till the Christmas of 1647, when these faithful men were again driven by Hammond's own nephew,<sup>2</sup> the governor of Carisbrooke Castle, from the king's presence.

<sup>1</sup> Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Hammond, the parliamentary-general. Wood says that when the king was at Hampton Court, Dr. Hammond introduced his nephew to him as a converted penitent to the royal cause. His conversion, however, seems to have been but tempo-

Hammond returning to Oxford just after the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Samuel Fell, had been imprisoned (October 8, 1647) and deprived (December 28), for boldly defending the University, of which he was then vice-chancellor, against the parliament, the decanal duties devolved upon himself as subdean. These, it need not be said, he discharged with great zeal and fidelity, and did much to fortify the University against sinking under calamities which he foresaw were preparing for them; himself at the same time setting an example of conscientious resistance, by refusing to affix to the doors of the schools the order sent by the visitors for the expulsion of Dr. Fell. At last the parliamentary visitors made their appearance, and at twenty-four hours' notice drove away, by sound of drum, all who refused to take the iniquitous Scottish covenant, which was then the test of non-delinquency. This disgrace, however, the University indignantly refused to submit to, and drew up a declaration against the covenant "with such invincible arguments," says Clarendon, "of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of contrary opinion, nor the assembly of the divines which then rary.—*Athenæ Oxon.* iii. 500. Clarendon gives a painfully interesting account of the king's being surrendered to Colonel Hammond at Carisbrooke, after his escape at Hampton Court, November 11, 1648.—*Hist.* v. pp. 488—509.

sat at Westminster, ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation."<sup>1</sup>

The part which Hammond took in preparing this famous document was the proximate cause of his own expulsion; for his conduct having been duly reported to the London committee for reforming the University, an order for his expulsion and imprisonment was immediately forwarded to Oxford (March 30, 1648). This mandate was of course carried into effect, though the sacredness of the season might have deferred the execution. It was on the vigil of Easter-day that an armed guard marched into Christ Church, and sent a musketeer to the doctor's rooms to seize him; by whom he was conveyed to the Bear Inn, with the intention of sending him, along with Dr. Sheldon, to Wallingford Castle. But the governor, Colonel Evelin, though a thorough republican, declaring that if they came to him, such was his respect for their characters, he should treat them not as prisoners, but friends, that step was not considered prudent. Hammond, there-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. v. p. 481. Walton's Life of Sanderson, ed. Zouch, ii. p. 212.

fore, was detained a close prisoner for nearly three months, notwithstanding the king demanded his presence at the Isle of Wight to assist in the treaty then pending there. When this was refused, the king sent to him for a copy of a sermon entitled "The Christian's Obligation to Peace and Charity," which he had heard Hammond preach a year before at Carisbrooke, much to his edification and comfort. This, along with others, Hammond afterwards dedicated (Sept. 16) to "his most sacred majesty," "that it may," says the dedication, "demonstrate and testify the reality of your majesty's inclination to peace (which alone could render the trifle considerable to you), and the sincere desire of your most private undisguised retirements to make the way back to your throne by none but pacific means, even when others thought it their duty by the sword to tempt it for you."

It was during this restraint at Oxford that the design of preparing his well-known "Annotations on the New Testament" first suggested itself. During that solitariness, he would naturally often turn for comfort to those Scriptures in which he had long been accustomed to meditate day and night. And with a view to elucidate those passages of the New Testament referring to the customs of the Jews, the

early heretics, the heathen games, and Hellenistic dialect, he had some time before written two large quarto volumes in Latin, as well as, on the careful collation of various MSS., made a translation of the New Testament for his own use. It occurred to him, therefore, at this time, that it might be beneficial to the English reader if he translated his Latin notes, and arranged them in order according to the text. Such was the origin of Hammond's "Annotations,"—a work which experience has shown to be not less useful to private families than theological students.

Having been confined about ten weeks in a tavern in Oxford, he was, through the interest of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple, removed to a more agreeable place of restraint, the house of his friend, Sir Philip Warwick, at Clapham in Bedfordshire. It was while residing there that he wrote his "Humble Address to the Lord Fairfax and his Council," in the hope of dissuading them from the murder of the king, which it was the object of the trial then just commenced to justify. The desire to save his beloved and royal master from such a fate would be sufficient inducement for him to interpose in his behalf; but there was another which touched him still more nearly, the desire to



preserve some of that council "of the nearest of my blood,<sup>1</sup> and whose eternal weal must need be very dear and precious to me," from the awful guilt of lifting their hands against the Lord's anointed. Though this solemn appeal produced no salutary impression upon the persons to whom it was addressed, it may be of service to us, inasmuch as it contains a complete demolition of that still common fallacy of the people being the source of power, and thus of having a right to withdraw when they please allegiance from the sovereign, who is considered to be merely their deputy. A rebel, under the name of Eutactus Philodemius, having the temerity to reply to this address, Hammond came out with a Vindication.

Let us now turn to one of the most important of his many important writings. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the epistles of the apostolical father Ignatius had long been the occasion of much controversy. The editions then known, containing letters varying from three to fifteen in number, were partly in Greek and partly in Latin. Archbishop Ussher, who had devoted eighteen years to such studies, observing that there were passages quoted by several of the early Fathers, and by some

<sup>1</sup> He probably alludes to his nephew Colonel Hammond, and one Dr. Henry Hammond a physician. See Wood, *ut supra*.

of our English divines which were not to be found in the circulating copies, inferred that there was probably yet the manuscript in England from which these quotations had been made. Accordingly he commenced a search for it, and after some time he discovered two Latin copies; one in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, the other in the library of the celebrated Bishop Montacute. On comparing them with the quotations made from Ignatius by the early Fathers and the English divines, he found that the passages coincided. In the year 1644 he published a new edition containing six letters of Ignatius<sup>1</sup> in Greek, in which the interpolations, now easily detected by the recently discovered MS., were distinguished by red characters. About two years later (1646) Isaac Vossius, son of the famous Gerard John Vossius, a friend of Bishop Andrewes, found a Greek copy of the same epistles in the Medicean Library at Florence, of which the copies discovered by Usher was a translation. Hence the genuineness of these writings appeared to be established, and no room left for future controversy. This conclusion, however, involved very important results. If the epistles written by Ignatius were those now published, the presbyterian polity was at

<sup>1</sup> Usher doubted the genuineness of the epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp.

once thrust from the boast of its primitive origin, and the divine right of episcopacy immoveably established. No wonder, therefore, that presbyterians both at home and abroad should bestir themselves. Of the latter, David Blondel, a well-known champion of their cause, while compelled to allow we now possessed the very epistles referred to and quoted by the early Fathers, boldly maintained that they were spurious, and did not belong to the age of Ignatius, but to the beginning of the third century. This assertion he grounded upon the style, which he considered to be too turgid and barbarous, and allusion to certain customs and heresies, and orders of the ministry, belonging, as he said, to a later age. He expressed this opinion to Ussher, who handed over his objections to Hammond, at the same time asking his assistance in answering them. This request was complied with; and the value put upon his co-operation is evident from the following note, in which Ussher expressed his acknowledgments: "I have read," he observes in a letter dated Ryegate, Surrey, the residence of the Countess of Peterborough, his then retiring place,<sup>1</sup> July 21,

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn gives an interesting account of a visit which he made to Ussher while at Ryegate, A.D. 1655. In the course of conversation the primate expressed an opinion "that the Church would be destroyed by the sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Popery."—*Diary*, i. p. 286.

1649, "with great delight and content, your accurate answer to the objections made against the credit of Ignatius' epistles, for which I do most heartily thank you; and am moved thereby farther to entreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other, who, for your pains, hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of 'Nebulo,' for the assertion of episcopacy: to the end that it may no longer be credited abroad that these two have so beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his 'Thesis of Church Government,' at Sedan lately published: which I leave to your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God; in whom I ever rest your very loving friend and brother, JA. ARMACHUS."

Hammond at once conceded to the wish herein expressed, by publishing (1651) *Dissertationes quatuor, quibus Episcopatus jura ex S. Scripturis et primæva antiquitate adstruuntur, contra sententiam, D. Blondelli, &c.*, in which the objections of his opponents, relating chiefly to the heresy of Valentinus and the episcopal function, are answered, and the authenticity of the epistles vindicated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hammond also touches upon these subjects in his treatise on "The Power of the Keys," chap. iii.

But a more formidable opponent arose about twenty years afterwards, (1666,) in the person of the eminent French controversialist, Daillé, who, at the mature age of seventy-two, sent forth a work in which he denied the genuineness of either the shorter or longer epistles, and assigned them to a date about the time of Constantine. It was in reply to this treatise that Bishop Pearson<sup>1</sup> wrote (1672) his unanswerable *Vindiciæ Epistolarum, S. Ignatii*, in which, with a just tribute to Hammond's memory, he proves that the seven epistles discovered by Ussher and Vossius, had been quoted or referred to by Christian writers from the age of Irenæus to his own, and that both the style in which they are written, and the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and heresies to which they refer, stamped them as the production of the very age in which that apostolic father was known to have lived. This evidence, external and internal, is elicited with such amazing skill and learning that no unprejudiced person can resist its force. "I am sure," says a Cambridge scholar, "he could not rise from it without feeling indignation at the flippant manner in which the authority of these epistles is dismissed by some

<sup>1</sup> See "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Bishop Pearson," prefixed to his minor theological works, edited by the Rev. E. Churton.

persons whose turn they serve not, and whose dogmatism can only be excused by their ignorance of the controversy they pronounce upon."<sup>1</sup> To return to Hammond—it was soon after his reply to Blondel, that his "Treatise of the Reasonableness of Christianity" appeared; the practical atheism which prevailed, "from the commonness of casting down mounds and hedges, of disputing and questioning the most established truths," having rendered such a treatise most seasonable. The grounds of Christianity in the gross, or bulk, all of it together, and the reasonableness of them in some measure justified, are first considered; after which follows a survey and vindication of those particular branches of Christianity which appeared to men at that time to be least supported with reason.

While engaged in this important undertaking, he experienced an affliction not the least of the many which he had already undergone. That mother, to whom he ever expressed himself so deeply indebted for example and precept, was called to her rest. For this, considering the troublous state of the times, he could not but

<sup>1</sup> "A Sketch of the Church of the Two First Centuries after Christ," &c., in a course of sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in January 1836, by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, p. 24.

feel thankful ; but what gave poignancy to the bereavement was, that he had been unable to visit her in her last illness, and receive her blessing before she died,—no royalist being permitted at that time to approach within twenty miles of the metropolis.

It was not long after his mother's death that he recovered his liberty, and took up his abode at Westwood in Warwickshire, the seat of the eminently loyal Sir John Packington and his pious and accomplished wife, to whom the reader shall now be introduced.

No retreat could have been more agreeable to Hammond than Westwood, with the owners and inmates of which he could indulge the full flow of that Christian friendship which he ever esteemed the next sacred thing unto religion, and without which, his saying was, life would necessarily be "pitiful, insipid, and herb-john-like." In the honest loyalty of Sir John Packington, who for his sovereign's sake had suffered much, and expended no less than £40,000, he found a constant source of admiration and fellow-feeling ; while with Lady Packington, the worthy daughter of a worthy father, Lord Coventry, the successor of the crafty Williams, as keeper of the Great Seal in the beginning of Charles's

reign, he had a companion in every way worthy of his esteem, and able to appreciate the value of his conversation ; she being a lady, we are told, "of an excellent judgment, and a ready talent of speaking gracefully, correctly, pertinently, and clearly ;" and of whose piety the "Whole Duty of Man,"<sup>1</sup> of which she is with great probability supposed to have been the author, is an imperishable monument. Nor would these generous royalists, one may humbly suppose, miss that reward which is promised to such as receive a prophet of God. Besides affording them the invaluable blessing of his example and conversation, he officiated in the family as chaplain, and bestowed much pains in instructing the younger branches of it. But the manner of his prayerful life at this time cannot be so well described as in the language of his inimitable biographer, Dr. Fell.

"Besides occasional and supernumerary addresses, his certain perpetual returns exceeded David's seven times a day. As soon as he was ready (which was usually early) he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose ; after this he retired to his own more secret

<sup>1</sup> Hammond read over all the sheets, and the devotions annexed ; and found, as he says in his letter to the bookseller, which was prefixed to the work, great cause to bless God for both.



devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities ; to this, after a little distance, succeeded the morning office of the Church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays he enlarged, and so religiously observed that, if any necessary business or charity had diverted him at the usual time, he repaired his soul at the cost of his body ; and, notwithstanding the injunctions of his physicians, which in other cases he was careful to obey, spent the supper-time therein. About five o'clock the solemn private prayers for the nation and the evening service of the Church returned. At bed-time his private prayers closed the day ; and, after all, even the night was not without its office, the fifty-first Psalm being his designed midnight entertainment."

He allotted the interval between prayers and dinner to his duties as tutor to the children of the family. His motto of instruction to young persons we are told was, *Principiis obsta*, to withstand the overtures of ill ; *Hoc age*, to be intent and serious in good, and to be furnished with a

friend. On Sunday afternoons he catechised them in his own room, whither the servants, as well as any others who desired it, had also access. His regard for the welfare of servants was very striking. He urged them to come to him at their vacant hours, that he might instruct them ; and on one occasion, when the scullion came into his room for that purpose, he would not allow him to stand, but made him sit by his side. Nor did he confine his solicitude to the inhabitants of Westwood ; the poor of the whole neighbourhood partook of it,—thus making what amends he could for the loss of his own Penshurst, with several of the parishioners of which he still stealthily corresponded, particularly with an humble friend named Sexton, to whom he usually sent his practical works as they appeared, together with letters of advice and consolation.

In other ways also he sought to make up for his inability to discharge openly the functions of his sacred office. No longer permitted to stand in the temple and speak the words of eternal life, he endeavoured in some degree to supply this duty by publishing to the world various treatises calculated to heal the breach of those sad times, and reconcile the enmity betwixt an angry God and a sinful land. Among the many evil conse-

quences of controversy, then at its height in England, there were few more pernicious than the scope thereby afforded to Jesuitical intrigue and the successful designs of popery. Creeds the most contradictory being considered equally true, and stiffly maintained as such, the more piously disposed became weary of restless disputation, and were too glad to close in with that specious unity and concord which Rome so confidently promises to her converts. The Romish Church is much too politic not to take every advantage of these golden opportunities. Accordingly wily Jesuits were sent into England, who, under the guise of denouncing the English Church as schismatical and popish,<sup>1</sup> and by joining in the cry of puri-

<sup>1</sup> Such was the command given by Julius III. to the Jesuits sent into England in the reign of Elizabeth. "Some of you who undertake to be of this sort of heretical episcopal society bring it as near to the mother (Roman) Church as you can, for then the Lutheran party, the Calvinists, the Anabaptists, and other heretica, will be averse thereunto, and thereby make that episcopal heresy odious to all these, and be a means to reduce all in time to the mother Church." See *Foxes and Firebrands*, part i. p. 31, 2nd ed. The same policy was exemplified by many Jesuits at the time of the rebellion. See part ii. *passim*. The anecdote given by this writer respecting Hammond's interview with a Jesuit in a red coat, is scarcely credible. See also a curious letter of Bramhall to Ussher, wherein he says that it plainly appears that, in the year 1646, above one hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, who had been taught several handicraft trades and callings.—*Bramhall's Works*, 1, p. xcvi.

tans against her, craftily scattered the snares of Romanism, in which too many were taken. It was in the hope of frustrating these attempts, and preventing earnest-minded men from seeking "a pompous and imperious Church abroad, instead of a pious and afflicted one at home,"<sup>1</sup> that Hammond published (1653) his treatise "Of Schism, a Defence of the Church of England against the Exceptions of the Romanist," in which he thoroughly vindicates the English Reformation, and proves that the Church, notwithstanding her then persecution and mournful condition, was still a visible body and true branch of the Church Catholic. Of the English Reformation, he says, "It is a special mark of the Church of England's Reformation to preserve the unity of the apostolical faith and primitive practices as entire as we would have done Christ's body or garment; and the probability being not weak on our side that the fact of the crucifying soldiers, which hath so much of our abhorrence and detestation, shall never be our choice, our known or wilful guilt, or, if it be, that we so far recede from our profession."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fell.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. viii. sect. 8. This treatise was afterwards severely handled by a Jesuit of the name of John Sergeant, *alias* Smith, who, having been educated in the English College in Lisbon, was sent into England. See Wood's *Athen. Ox.* iv. 672. Hammond's reply to this attack will be found in vol. ii. of his Works.

As in this treatise he disproves the charge of schism, so in his "*Parænesis*, or Seasonable Exhortatory, addressed to all True Sons of the Church of England,"<sup>1</sup> did he defend "our precious dear persecuted mother" against the imputation of heresy,—a work which is said to have been penned first in tears, and then in ink. His treatise of "Fundamentals" had much the same object in view, and was probably the foundation of the two previous works.

Experience shows that the fruit of good living can only grow from a sound faith, and that when the root is unsound the fruit, if fruit there be, is bitter. It was so at the period under consideration. Faith and morals were equally corrupted. The restraints put upon the evil passions of men from the prospect of future punishment were dissolved, the existence of hell as a place of torment being denied.<sup>2</sup> This is a matter of history, and the fact receives incidental confirmation from the subject of several queries which were addressed to Hammond for resolution. From "A Letter of Resolution to Six Queries of Present Use in the Church of England," we find that not only the necessity of baptism of infants

<sup>1</sup> This has lately been edited by Archdeacon Manning among the Oxford reprints.

<sup>2</sup> See "Discourse of Hell-Torments; or, an Assertion of the Existence and Duration of Hell-Torments." Works, vol. ii.

and the imposition of hands for ordination were denied, and the observation of Christmas-day and other festivals of the Church neglected; but that incestuous marriages (so called) of men with their deceased wives' sisters<sup>1</sup> were common, as well as polygamy and divorce. Such were the subjects of these questions, the answers to which contain a thorough investigation of the principles which they involve. In reference to the point upon which they were grounded,—*of the way of resolving controversies which are not clearly stated and resolved in the Scriptures*,—he demonstrates, “that whatsoever hath the concordant attestation of the Christian Church of the first ages (the Scripture remaining obscure or silent in the matter), that it was the doctrine or practice apostolical, there remains not to any that now lives (thus remote from those fountains of story, and only repositories of such truth) any imaginable ground of sober or prudent doubting, or questioning the truth of it.”

But Hammond endeavoured, by other means besides his writings, to subserve the cause of loyalty and religion. The sufferings of those faithful men,

<sup>1</sup> Now that an attempt is being made to give legal sanction to this kind of incest, Hammond's unanswerable treatise may be studied with advantage. An able article on “The Law regarding Marriage with a Wife's Sister” will be found in No. 5 of the English Review, March 1845.

who, rather than disown their sovereign and forsake their Church, resigned their benefices, and with them, in many cases, the means of subsistence, are well known. But the crowning blow of their indignities and privations was not given till Cromwell issued an ordinance in which it was enjoined that no royalist should, after the first day of January 1655, keep in their houses or families, as chaplains or schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected ministers, who were henceforth forbidden either to teach, preach, pray, or exercise any ministerial office, on pain of being proceeded against. Of the barbarity of this enactment it is unnecessary to speak. Even one from whom the admission might least have been expected, the infamous Prynne, Laud's relentless persecutor, confessed "that it was such a transcendent barbarism, impiety, and highway to extirpate religion as the pope and Jesuits themselves could not have invented the like, and exceeded all foreign persecutions against Protestant ministers in Piedmont, Bohemia, and Silesia by popish princes."<sup>1</sup> John Evelyn makes the following affecting entry in his Diary respecting the fulfilment of this order: "25 Dec. 1655. I went to London where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching,

<sup>1</sup> Walker, part i. p. 194.

this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schole, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. This was ye mournfullest day that in my life I had seene, or ye Church of England herselfe since ye Reformation; to the greate rejoicing of papists and presbyterians. So pathetic was his discourse that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family received ye Communion. God make me thankfull who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our soules as well as bodies. The Lord Jesus pity our distress'd Church, and bring back the captivity of Sion."<sup>1</sup> But it was the ulterior effect of the measure that was most to be dreaded. It was, as Prynne said, "a highway to extirpate religion," and the very existence of the Church was placed in jeopardy. On this ground it was that Hammond—though he individually felt the prohibition most sorely, as being, as he in his humility deemed it, indicative of God's displeasure against himself, "and the reproaching his former unprofitableness, by casting him out as a straw to the dung-hill,"—set about raising funds for supporting hopeful persons in

<sup>1</sup> Diary, i. p. 298.



either University, by maintaining a seminary of youth, "instituted in piety and learning, upon the sole principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church." In this generous undertaking he enlisted the services of Jeremy Taylor and other confessors having means greater than most of their suffering brethren, by whose beneficence many deserving men were supported, who afterwards were signal ornaments of the Church in which they served. And no wonder, when we consider what the qualification was for obtaining assistance from this common fund. To all who co-operated in its distribution Hammond gave it in charge "carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts;" his opinion being "that exemplary virtue must restore the Church."

Nor were his charitable endeavours confined to sufferers in England. To many, obliged to escape for their lives into foreign lands, and reduced to great want, he sent seasonable relief. Indeed his exertions in behalf of his persecuted brethren were so notorious that he hardly escaped the vengeance of "the fierce monster" who then usurped the throne. He was summoned before Cromwell; but so severe was Hammond's rebuke of his foul deeds that the tyrant dreaded to harm the man before

whose moral courage and purity he was utterly cowed. So true is it, as Hammond frequently observed, "that they who least consider hazard in the doing of their duties fare still best."

But assaults of a different kind now awaited him. That moderation which he maintained to be a characteristic of the Church of England was peculiarly his own. This the spirit of his writings already noticed witnesses. An additional proof of it was now afforded, by the assaults which those writings experienced from the leaders of opposite factions. The Romanists charged him with Puritanism, the Puritans with Romanism.<sup>1</sup> These attacks, however, he successfully repelled, in several treatises well worthy of perusal, but, as being defences of those before alluded to, need only be referred to here. They will chiefly be found in the second volume of his works, which contains most of his writings against Romish and Protestant dissenters.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn records an instance of this in his Diary when visiting Oxford in the year 1654. "July 10. On Monday I went again to ye Scholes to heare the severall Faculties, and in ye afternoone tarried out the whole act in St. Marie's ..... Dr. Kendal (now Inceptor), amongst others performing his act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his presbyterian animosities, which he withheld not even against that learned and pious divine, Dr. Hammond."—*Diary*, i. p. 269.

About the time when most of these replies appeared, the Polyglot Bible, "the glory of the English Church and nation," as it has been designated, was presented to the world (1657). In this noble work Hammond's profound oriental learning was brought into requisition;<sup>1</sup> and he is well known to have assisted his "very worthy and dear friend Dr. Walton" in collating ancient MSS., correcting the press, and subscribing £50 towards the undertaking; this being generally supposed the first book printed by subscription in England.

Westwood was still Hammond's home and usual place of residence; but he appears to have occasionally left its sheltering roof, even if the before-mentioned interdict did not compel him for a time to do so, in order to enjoy the conversation of his friends and fellow-confessors. London, after the hard measure against their going there had been withdrawn, was the place where they mostly resorted, and there also Hammond was sometimes to be found.

He also visited his friend Dr. Sanderson, at Boothby Pannel in Lincolnshire, who, though after his expulsion from Oxford he had been allowed to retire to his living, suffered many rudenesses and pri-

<sup>1</sup> See Archdeacon Todd's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Brian Walton, D.D.," vol. i. p. 282.

vations from "the godly party." This interview between these highly gifted men is noticed by their common friend, Izaak Walton, who records an amusing incident connected with it. "And about this time," says Walton, in his "Life of Sanderson," "his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet conversation, and rest with him for some days at Boothby Pannel; and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had wrote it, Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbouring minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was wrote; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond looked on his sermon as written, observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him; for it was observable to many of that plain auditory: but when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, 'Good doctor, give me my sermon; and know that neither you nor any man

living shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books.' To which the reply was, 'Good doctor, be not angry; for if I ever persuade you to preach again without a book, I will give you leave to burn all the books that I am master of.' Part of the occasion," continues Walton, "of Dr. Hammond's visit, at this time, was to discourse with Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly,—it was about those knotty points which are by the learned called the quinquarticular controversy."<sup>1</sup>

The conference would seem to have confirmed the unanimity of sentiment, before alluded to,<sup>2</sup> as we find among the last of Hammond's works, "A Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in a letter of full accordance written to the reverend and most learned Dr. Robert Sanderson," addressed "To all our brethren of the Church of England" (Feast of All Saints, 1659). This, with a review of his former annotations, and a paraphrase and annotations of the Book of Psalms, and a Latin tract on "Confirmation," in reply to Daillé's objections against that apostolical ordinance, were the last of his literary labours. He meditated several others, and among the rest, "Annotations upon the

<sup>1</sup> Walton's Lives, ii. p. 237, ed. Zouch.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 126.

Old Testament," in which he made a beginning with the first ten chapters of the Proverbs,<sup>1</sup> but did not live to complete them.

When we consider that Hammond's works, not less logical than learned, were written in times and situations least favourable to calm reflection, most of them during the rebellion, and some while he was in confinement, we can only account for the rapid succession in which they appeared, as well as for their almost faultless accuracy, on the ground that he possessed a thorough mastery of his subject, and an extraordinary facility of composition; such was the fact. He wrote, for instance, the "Considerations of Present Use, concerning the Danger resulting from the Change of our Church-government," which fills five closely printed folio pages,<sup>2</sup> after ten o'clock at night, in a friend's chamber, who declared that he sat by him the whole time, and that he never took pen from paper till it was finished. The tract on "Scandal," ten folio pages, also was begun at eleven o'clock, and finished before he went to bed. Without this unusual rapidity of composition, the various interruptions to which he was liable would have rendered the preparation of his writings impossible. For besides those already named, numerous obstacles interposed

<sup>1</sup> Works, vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> See Works, vol. i.

themselves. Not to mention long continued attacks of sickness, attended by most acute bodily suffering, his time was constantly broken in upon by visitors, and a widely-extended correspondence on matters, public and private, and deeply affecting the interests of the Church; on the plans devised for the restoration of which he was generally consulted, his conscientiousness, judgment, and piety giving a weight to his opinions equal to that of any of his contemporaries.

Of these letters, two very valuable collections remain, in manuscript and in print. In the Harleian MSS. (6942), there is a quarto volume which contains original letters of Hammond to Sheldon. There are also nineteen letters written by him to Mr. Peter Stainough and Dr. Nathaniel Ingelo, Viceprovost of Eton. These letters were published by Francis Peck, author of the *Desiderata Curiosa*, from the originals communicated to him by the Rev. Robert Marsden, Archdeacon of Nottingham, and the Rev. John Worthington. They came into the possession of Mr. Marsden's father by his marriage with the relict of Mr. Stainough. Extracts from either of these collections<sup>1</sup> shall be given, not only as being illustrative of Hammond's character, but

<sup>1</sup> See British Magazine, vol. x. p. 678, and British Critic, vol. xv. 165.

as throwing light upon the events of the times, and evidencing the high estimation in which his opinion was held.

Allusion has been already made to the beneficial influence of Hammond over Sanderson as regards the Calvinistic controversy. From several of his unpublished letters in the British Museum, it would appear that Sanderson was somewhat wavering on another vital subject, and was inclined to fall in with some presbyterian schemes broached during the rebellion. The following judicious letter from Hammond to Sheldon was written to prevent some such indiscretion on Sanderson's part. It contains an admirable lesson for all who are inclined to temporize, and to sink principle in expediency.

"For Dr. Sa[nderson] joining with the Grantham Lecturers, such as now they are, I cannot think he will deem it safe to do it. For, first, their combination is not legal or by authority of the bishop, and his way of interpreting laws and the Governor's mind by equity will not here help them; both because the bishop lives and might be consulted, and because it can with no reason be imagined, without consulting him, that he would give leave to presbyterians to maintain such meetings. And then, if their combination be unlawful in itself, certainly his joining with them will be so also. Se-



condly, The men he will scarcely acknowledge to be schismatics, and sure this meeting of theirs, as by them it is ordered, an act of their schism; and if he join with them in doing that, which they by doing act schism, can he be free from joining with schismatics in schism? Not to mention the scandal of it, in case he would nicely distinguish it from any schism. Thirdly, Can any good end in his prospect make this lawful which is in itself under the la...dices, supposing the end good which he proposes to himself? But then, Fourthly, I cannot believe that the end mentioned by your letter is good. For to sweeten them by complying with them in schismatical acts, and making them believe themselves pardonable, whilst they continue and remain unreformed in their schism, is to confirm them in their course, and so to scandalize them as well as others, to put a stumbling-block in their way to reformation. Certainly, the greater charity to these moderate reformable presbyters were to assist and hasten the perfecting of their repentance, and renouncing of their erroneous practices; and then, if the bishop give leave to Dr. Sa[nderson] to erect some other lecture, they will sure come and combine with him: and for those that mean not this, 'tis certain that they are not to be persuaded, that if the laws regain their

power, they shall be tolerated (their way being so unreconcilable with prelacy), and as certain, that instead of serving Dr. Sanderson's end, they desire to serve themselves of him, and by his presence and joining with them to have him thought such as they. And so hath Mr. Baxter already divided the prelatiſtical clergy into two parts: one exemplified in Uſſher and Dr. Sand: the other ſtyled in groſſe Caſſandrian, Grotian Papists, and ſeveral of his friends marked out by ſome circumſtance to be of that number. Laſtly, He may do well to conſider, whether if from writing for the Engagement firſt, and then the laying aſide the Liturgy,<sup>1</sup> he proceed further to this, it will not be after more eaſy to ſuperſtruct on theſe beginnings more ſuitable practices than it hath been to reconcile theſe to his former writings and perſuaſions. And whether, on the other ſide, this be not a ſeaſon much fitter for him to appear in upholding truth by answering the London preſbyters' vindication (in ſixty ſheets ſhortly coming out) of their government, ordination, &c., than to ſeem (a perſon of ſuch authority) to conſent to it by practiſing with them. . . . Nov. 23."

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find the nature of the variations made by Sanderson, in the uſe of the Liturgy, ſtated and defended, in his "Judgment Concerning Submiſſion to Uſurpers," firſt published in the appendix to Walton's Life of Sanderson.

As this letter is not very favourable to Sanderson's views respecting ecclesiastical polity, it is gratifying to know that his sentiments on this subject underwent considerable alteration, probably owing to his friendship with Hammond,<sup>1</sup> "whom he revered and dearly loved," as Izaak Walton records.

Another letter, from the same collection, is strikingly indicative of that humility and gentleness of disposition for which Hammond was remarkable. It is addressed to his "worthy friend Mr. Benet," and is obviously written from Westwood.

"Sir,—I am so very kind to that sort of character and image which, from the two very excellent sisters, I have received of you, that although I cannot flatter myself into any degree of belief that you are not extremely partial to me, yet I can be very well pleased that you be continued in your favourable error, as knowing that the more charity is required to betray you to it, the more valuable your good opinion is; and the more painful to me that acquaintance with you may prove, and the more effectually advantageous the benefit of your prayers, which I heartily beg that you will now afford me. And the entrance on the former of these will be most obligingly made by your ad-

<sup>1</sup> See D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*.

monishing me of anything wherein, on your survey of anything of mine, you have wished me admonished, and by directing me the way wherein I may at any time perform that which may be in the least degree grateful or useful to you. I have, I thank God, of late, recovered to a full health again, if God see it fit to continue it (so precious a talent) to so unworthy a possessor of it, and enjoy as cheerful a recess, by the favour of the good lady here, as I ever at any time tasted or was ambitious of; and your expressions of kindness to me make me with reason believe that you will not be ill-pleased that I tell you so. I shall no longer detain you than whilst I render you my hearty acknowledgments of this your very much-valued favour, and beseech the continuance of your charity, to cover the many faults of your very affectionate friend and servant,

*"Jan. 13."*

*"H. HAMMOND."*

"I must not omit to add my true reverence to the memory of that excellent divine, the Bishop of Cork, whom God fatherly removed from the evils then more than impendent on these nations. Methinks it is not unreasonable for me to inquire whether there be not some body of orthodox divinity, or decision of some important questions on

it, left behind him, for sober posterity to profit by.”<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop of Cork, here so honourably mentioned by Hammond, was Dr. William Chappell, formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and afterwards, at the instance of Ussher, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He was consecrated Bishop of Cork in the year 1638; but when the rebellion broke out in Ireland, he withdrew to England, and died at Derby, 1648. He divided his estate among his relatives and the suffering clergy. Lloyd describes him as being an incomparable logician, and famous for his many and eminent pupils, of whom Milton is said to have been one. It does not appear that he left any writings behind him.

In one of the nineteen letters we have an answer given to those many cases of conscience which were frequently put to him, it being far more common for the clergy to be consulted in such matters in those days than in our own. It is written from “Westwood, the place of my country retirement,” and dated September 10, 1658.

“Your other quære—‘Utrum misericors Deus restituat pœnitenti omnia bona, quæ per pecca-

<sup>1</sup> British Magazine, vol. x. p. 679.

tum perdiderat?"<sup>1</sup>—in general speaking is easily answered. For grace, (both the gift of God and the favour of God, adoption, justification, and right to salvation,) which are the general comprehensive heads which contain *omnia bona quæ peccatum perdiderat*, are certainly restored to the penitent. But whether so great a degree of these be restored to the penitent as is secured to the just man that needs no repentance, I have no ground from Scripture to determine. For as, on one side, it is said there that there is more joy in heaven for the penitent; and that the returning prodigal was feasted, &c. when the son that was always with the father was not, which inclines to the affirmative; so it is said, by way of answer to that, as to an objection, that all the father had was his and that that was more valuable to him than one feast. And beside, the joy and the festival proves not the *bona omnia* in the same degree. The safest way then of resolution I think is, that he that hath sinned, when he returned, should by double diligence qualify himself, as St. Paul did; and then no doubt to him will belong that of—*'the last shall be first.'*"

Among the last letters which Hammond wrote

<sup>1</sup> "Whether the merciful God restores to the penitent, all the good things he has lost by sin?"

was that to a friend, to console him after the defeat of Sir George Booth, one of the brave royalists, who, on the death of Cromwell, had joined in an attempt to restore the exiled sovereign. The letter breathes a delightful spirit of resignation and hopefulness, and concludes thus: "I have been these three weeks under restraint, by the gout and other pains, and am not yet on my legs; yet, blessed be God, have all causes of thankfulness, none of repining." This attack was soon succeeded by another, from which he never recovered.

Shortly after the defeat which was the subject of the above letter, the jealousies and quarrels of the rebels afforded a favourable opportunity for the devoted royalists to advance their cause; and in the beginning of the year 1660 the prospect of the king's restoration was so hopeful, that the ejected bishops appointed a meeting in London for resettling the affairs of the Church. To this conference Hammond, already selected as Bishop Prideaux's successor, who had died about ten years before, leaving no legacy to his children but pious poverty, God's blessing, and a father's prayers,<sup>1</sup> was invited; and while preparing for the journey, the pains alluded to in his letter

<sup>1</sup> Nelson's *Life of Bishop Bull*, p. 11, ed. Burton.

suddenly returned, and rendered his going impossible. It was on the 4th of April that a violent attack of the stone, "the student's disease," according to Fuller, seized him; and although on the voidance of the stone the symptoms became more favourable, they assumed a very alarming appearance four days afterwards. Still he felt that he was not dying yet, and urged his lamenting friends to composure and resignation. For himself, he spent his whole time in prayer, in acts of self-denial and charity, and in admonishing those around him. Besides his private devotions, in which he frequently repeated two prayers he had composed, the last of his writings, the prayers of the Church were daily said in his room; and when his friends on one occasion were, in the excess of their sorrow, using extemporary petitions, he interrupted them by saying, "Let us call on God in the voice of the Church." He was now rapidly declining; and on the 20th of April, being Good-Friday, he received the Eucharist. On Easter-day the holy Communion was again administered to him, and to many others who desired to receive with him, for the last time, that divine and comfortable sacrament. To all present, and to the members of the hospitable family in which, for the last ten years of



his life, he had found a home of piety and peace, he gave many golden words of exhortation. To Lady Packington he recommended "*universal obedience*, as the most comprehensive duty; his own conviction being that the very condition of obeying, the lot of not having to choose for oneself, the being determined in all proposals by human or divine command, and where those left at large, by the guidance of God's providence, or the assistance of a friend, was the happiest state in the world." But his days were numbered. On the 25th violent hæmorrhage came on, the exhausting effects of which he did not long survive. And thus, besides having been called away, as he had wished, before the restoration, in order that he might escape the awful charge of a bishoprick, and the snares of prosperity, which he really dreaded, he had a passage out of the world which, only a day or so previously, he had said was most desirable. He died in the 55th year of his age, as he had lived—praying. His last words were, "Lord, make haste!"

On the evening of the following day, the very day of the meeting of parliament for ensuring the king's return, he was borne on the shoulders of the attending clergy, who duly prized the honour, to Hampton, the parish church of West-

wood, where he was interred in the family vault of the Packingtons. As the funeral procession was leaving the gates of Westwood, Hammond's friend, Dr. Richard Allestree, rode up, intending to pay him a visit, not having heard of his death. The shock must have been great indeed.

Such was "the excellent Dr. Hammond, the noblest, perhaps, of the noble band who were persecuted for the Church's sake, in the days of King Charles the First;"<sup>1</sup>—a name at the mention of which, to quote from the appropriate, though for such a man too wordy, epitaph on his monument at Hampton, "the learned rise up in reverence;" or, as good Robert Nelson describes him, "a most eminent episcopal divine, whose name will always be mentioned with honour and respect by those who are true friends to the Church of England." "He may be called," says Fuller in his usual quaint manner, "an angelical doctor, as justly as he who is generally so styled. First, for his countenance and complexion, white and ruddy, resembling the common portraitures of cherubims. Secondly, his sanctity, spending his life in devotion. His eating and drinking were next to nothing, so exemplary his abstinence; and he always embraced a single life. Thirdly, meekness. Michael

<sup>1</sup> Keble.

durst not (the valour of an archangel is frighted at sin) bring a railing accusation against Satan. Herein only our doctor was a coward, he feared to revile any of an opposite judgment. Fourthly, his charity: he was the tutelar angel to keep many a poor royalist from famishing, it being generally believed that he yearly gave away more than two hundred pounds."<sup>1</sup>

To this it may be added that, amid all the worthies of the English Church, there is none more worthy of honour than he. His writings are, perhaps, the most valuable in our theology; for while there are some of a more practical kind, and others written in a style better suited to the popular apprehension; there are none of the same extent so thoroughly consistent and adapted to our own times. Hammond lived at a period when those sentiments were fresh broached which have been revived in our own day. Hence all the attacks now being made against the Church of England, by Romish and Protestant dissenters, may be successfully repelled by weapons already proved and at hand, in the magazine of his polemical works. In them, too, the fairest por-

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Worthies, p. 86. (Surrey.) The most elaborate summary of Hammond's character is given by Barrow in his *Epitaphium in Henricum Hammond*, 1660. Works, vol. viii. p. 529.

traiture of the English Church may be found, as the mean, not as some would have it between catholic truth and sectarian error, but the mean of catholic truth between Romanism on the one hand and Puritanism on the other.

The mean thy praise and glory is;—  
And long may be !  
Blessed be God, whose love it was  
To double-moat thee with His grace,  
And none but thee.

If wise, therefore, the theological student will devote many of his days and nights to the writings of Hammond, enunciated with logic the most accurate, learning the most profound, and expressed in language singularly clear and vigorous. His annotations on the New Testament and Psalms, together with his Practical Catechism, would be valuable additions to the library of every Englishman.

While his works may be profitably read, the virtues which so completely exemplified them may be emulated, each in his appointed sphere, by all. And this will be the most suitable reverence we can render to the memory of one who, more than most other men of his time, is worthy of our gratitude, on account of the essential service he

did to the persecuted Church of England ; for, to complete Nelson's appropriate description of him, " he adhered to her when her condition was most deplorable, defended her doctrine and discipline by his learned and judicious pen, and adorned them by a conversation strictly virtuous and pious." May many such faithful sons adhere to our Church in every time of her trial or peril !

" When faithless ones forsake thy wing  
Be it vouchsaf'd thee still to see  
Thy true, fond nurslings closer cling,  
Cling closer to their Lord and thee."

LIFE OF GEORGE BULL, D.D.

“ Are you ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same?”

*The Form of Ordaining or Consecrating of a Bishop.*

“ Grant, O Lord, that in reading Thy holy Word, I may never prefer my private sentiments before those of the Church in the purely ancient times of Christianity.”

BISHOP WILSON.







RUSKOP BILL.

London; J. Burns Portman Street

Biography of English Bishops.

---

THE LIFE

OF

GEORGE BULL, D.D.,

BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

---

LONDON:

JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,  
AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.

mcccclix.



**The Life**  
**OF**  
**GEORGE BULL, D.D.,**  
**BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.**

---

**B**ISHOP BULL, the subject of this memoir, was born in the parish of St. Cuthbert, Wells, on the 25th of March, 1634. To the thoughtful reader, neither the time nor place will be unnoticed, either so well harmonizing with the character about to be described: for there could be no fitter birthplace for a future bishop than that which bore the name of one of the most eminent saints and bishops of the British Church; nor a day of nativity more appropriate than the feast of the Annunciation, to one whose most distinguished labours were in vindication of the divine honour

and blessed

not he dwelt

of gentle

descended

Somerset-

long spared

birth and

about four

deprived of

an infant-

and selfish

we have

of the

True

the

there

were

the

their

he

to

to

the

the

the

in-

stance this, among innumerable others, of the invaluable blessing which these institutions have ever been to the nation, by fostering talent which otherwise might have remained uncultivated and unknown. It were well if they who are so anxious to remodel such institutions, by making their teaching subservient to the shallow learning of the day, would reflect upon the result of such changes to the genuine intellect of the country, and especially to the Church, the nurseries of which, for persons in middle life, grammar-schools were intended to be by their founders.

After remaining a short time at Wells, he was removed to a similar foundation at Tiverton in Devonshire, where his progress in classical learning—a sure test of superior intellect—was so great that his tutor, Mr. Samuel Butler, whose attainments rendered him well able to form an accurate opinion, pronounced his pupil to be ready for the University before he had attained his fourteenth year. Accordingly, on the 10th of July, 1648, Mr. Bull entered as a commoner of Exeter College, Oxford.

When we consider his prodigious stores of learning, we may well infer that the unbroken application of the longest life would scarcely be sufficient for their attainment; it is nevertheless

true that, during the short time he remained at the University, he did not apply himself with that diligence, and consequently did not make the progress which might have been expected from his previous attention and subsequent labours. But his talents, if comparatively unemployed, were not unobserved; for both Dr. Conant and Bishop Prideaux bestowed that notice upon him, which is seldom by such men bestowed upon unworthy objects. He also formed a close friendship with Mr. Clifford, afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England. One reason of his little advance in learning at the University is to be found in the distracted state of the times during his residence—periods of anarchy and fanaticism being sadly unpropitious to the calm pursuit of science and literature. He had not been at Oxford much longer than a year before what was called the *Engagement* was imposed upon the nation (1649), by which every one was compelled, at the peril of outlawry, to swear “that he would be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as it was established without a king or House of Lords”—in other words, to give a solemn approval of the sacrilege and murder of which the rebels had been guilty. Mr. Bull, denying the usurped authority of the persons who imposed this iniquitous oath, refused to degrade himself by swearing to its conditions.

Being thus obliged to leave the University, he retired with his college-tutor, Mr. Acland,<sup>1</sup> an eminent royalist, to Cadbury in Somersetshire, where he remained for two or three years, in such rigorous pursuit of his studies that he made ample amends for lost time at Oxford. Here, too, it was, aided by the counsel of a good sister, that he first began to think seriously about the holy office to which his father had so early dedicated him. Whatever might be his progress in human learning, he felt that it would be wicked to enter—not as is commonly said, the Church, for every infant born of Christian parents enters the Church at his baptism—but to enter holy orders, in other words, to become a priest, without due preparation. He accordingly adopted a course which it would be well if all in similar circumstances were to imitate,—he sought the assistance of a clergyman, who was considered by his friends able to give him the necessary instructions in ecclesiastical and biblical learning. In this instance, however, the selection was by no means a happy one; and as far as we can see, it would have been much better had the

<sup>1</sup> Wood states, that on leaving the university he sojourned in the house of Mr. Henry Jeanes, Rector of Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, where he did, under him, improve his knowledge much in academical learning.—*Athen. Ox.* iv. 490.



choice of his guardians fallen upon Dr. Hammond, between whom and a Mr. Thomas, Rector of Ubley in Somersetshire, who was finally selected, they were some time divided. Thomas was unfortunately a bitter puritan, and assisted the rebel parliament in the ejection of what were profanely termed "scandalous ministers," i. e. ministers who loved the Church and king, and refused to acknowledge the usurpation. Between Mr. Thomas and Mr. Bull, therefore, we cannot suppose much sympathy would exist; nor shall we be surprised if his theological acquirements were neither considerable nor satisfactory during this period, when it is known that such writers as Hooker, Taylor, and Hammond, indeed all orthodox divines, were in the *index expurgatorius* of his instructor, and would have been entirely unknown to Mr. Bull had not Thomas's son<sup>1</sup> secretly supplied them—not without the hazard of his father's displeasure, who was wont to say, "My son will corrupt Mr. Bull."

On leaving Mr. Thomas, and at an age earlier than the canons usually allow,<sup>2</sup> he was ordained

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Thomas. He went into holy orders and obtained good preferment, which he resigned on joining the non-jurors. He was an excellent parish priest, and published several polemical works.—*Wood, Ath. Ox.* iv. 390.

<sup>2</sup> The famously-learned Bishop Usher was ordained before he was twenty-one, and Bishop Jeremy Taylor younger than he.

deacon and priest the same day, by Dr. Skinner, ejected Bishop of Oxford (1655), who is said to have been the only bishop who conferred holy orders during the rebellion. We have before had an instance of Mr. Bull's loyalty, in his refusal to take the engagement; in his ordination we have an instance of his reverence of the "sacred regimen" of bishops. Though episcopacy, as far as wicked men could abolish it, was at this period abolished in England—the clergy having been ejected from their incumbencies, and compelled to prophesy in sackcloth—Mr. Bull had read quite sufficient of divinity to know that none other than a successor of the holy apostles could give him legitimate authority to exercise the priest's office. To Bishop Skinner, therefore, he applied for ordination; for though deprived of earthly power, no power on earth, except that of the Church itself, could take away his right to send labourers into the Lord's vineyard.

The first scene of his pastoral labours was Easton, a small living about five miles from Bristol; the value of which—only thirty pounds a year—seemed a sufficient defence against the rapacity of those who, though accustomed to rail at good livings and pluralities when held by others, made no scruple to enjoy both themselves. On



BENSON, D.D.

London, J. P. & Co. Portico Street

**Biography of English Bishops.**

---

**THE LIFE**

**OF**

**GEORGE BULL, D.D.,**

**BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.**

---

**LONDON:**

**JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,  
AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.**

**mdcccxlii.**

use of forms verbally different from those in the Book of Common Prayer, he appears occasionally to have ventured upon the proscribed service, and the following incident shows how prejudice may blind men against its truth and beauty.

During his residence at Easton, a dissenter sent for him to baptize his child, which was dangerously ill; on which occasion, Mr. Bull repeated from memory the whole of the office for private baptism as set forth in the Prayer-book. At the conclusion of the sacrament, the father of the child returned him many thanks; at the same time intimating with how much greater edification they prayed who depended entirely upon the Spirit of God for assistance in their devotions, than they who tied themselves down to premeditated forms. We may easily conceive the astonishment of his parishioner, when the pastor declared that the prayers then used were the very premeditated forms which he condemned. The result, however, of this incident was highly satisfactory: the dissenter, repenting of his schism, returned, like an honest man, to his parish-church, where, with his family, he continued ever after to worship the God of his fathers.

It was at Easton that he was providentially delivered from an accident, which would, in all

probability, have cost him his life, and thus have deprived the Church of his valuable labours. His lodgings being next door to a powder-mill, the squire of the parish, and his wife, one day called upon him for the express purpose of impressing, upon him the danger of his situation, and at the same time offered him their own house for a residence. Mr. Bull's modesty, at first, prevented his acceding to this generous offer; but having been frequently repeated, he was, happily, at last prevailed upon to accept it: for a few days after he had left his lodgings, the powder-mill exploded, and with it blew up his study, in which he passed the greater portion of his time, and where he would then in all probability have been sitting. This providential escape deeply impressed him with feelings of humble gratitude.

But we must now notice an important change in his condition. On Ascension-day, 1658, he was married to Bridget Gregory, daughter of his friend and neighbour the Vicar of Cirencester. She is described, by one who knew her well, to have been, in all respects, "a fit consort for a clergyman, as being in her own nature sufficiently provident, and yet well disposed to all manner of good works, out of a true principle of love to God and goodness. Her attire was very plain and grave; her chief

diversion was the care of her family ; and her main ambition to please her husband, to whom she was always a complying and obedient wife." She was of great service in assisting him in the management of his parish, by visiting the sick women and instructing the ignorant. And of the regard in which she was held by those among whom she resided, no more honourable proof can be given than that, after her husband's death, to whom she had been united more than half a century, the inhabitants of Brecknock intreated her to return and live among them, which she did accordingly.

It very conveniently happened that about the time of his marriage he was, in consideration of the exemplary manner in which he had discharged his duties during his three years residence at Easton, presented, by Lady Pool of Cirencester, to the somewhat more valuable living of Suddington, St. Mary, near Cirencester. At the restoration, for which he had been very zealous in a general movement<sup>1</sup> for accomplishing it, the Earl of Clarendon, at the request of his diocesan, Bishop Nicholson, presented him to his contiguous vicarage of Suddington, St. Peter. The united value of these livings did not exceed one hundred pounds a year.

In this new sphere he was, if possible, still more

<sup>1</sup> See Hammond's Life, p. 178.

zealous than before in the performance of his sacred functions. "He offered the prayers of the Church with peculiar solemnity, and enforced the doctrines of the pulpit by a grave yet winning eloquence. In preparing sermons he generally wrote nothing more than notes; his great learning, combined with previous meditation and a ready utterance, enabling him to fill up the subject extemporaneously, which is the reason that he has left so few finished discourses behind him. His usual method was, after the choice of his text, to mark some words that were to be explained, in order to give the true sense of that portion of Scripture he had chose to treat upon; and then he writ down some observations which flowed naturally from the subject, and under each observation hints to illustrate it, and texts of Scripture proper to be explained in order to give light to it; and then drew inferences from his whole discourse by way of application." His manner of celebrating the Holy Communion had much of reverence, and was in strict accordance with the rubric. "He always," we are told, "placed the elements of bread and wine upon the altar himself, after he had received them either from the churchwarden or clerk, or had taken them from some convenient place where they were laid for that purpose. His constant practice



was to offer them upon the holy table, in the first place, in conformity to the practice of the ancient Church, before he began the Communion-service; and this the rubric after the offertory seemeth to require of all her priests, by declaring 'that when there is a communion, the priest shall then place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.'"<sup>1</sup> As regards the Sacrament of Baptism, he always, except in cases of sickness, when alone private baptism is allowable, administered it publicly on Sundays and holydays, as well for that, as the rubric admonishes, "the congregation there present may testify to the receiving of them that be baptized into the number of Christ's Church; as also because, in the baptism of infants, every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism."<sup>2</sup> This was a matter that he frequently urged upon the attention of parents, in order that the infants might receive the benefit of the prayers of the united congregation. The feasts and fasts of the Church were also duly announced by him, according to the rubric, and observed in his parish. His own family were always present on these occasions; and on fast-days the customary meal was

<sup>1</sup> Nelson's Life of Bull, page 53.

<sup>2</sup> See first Rubric to Public Baptism of Infants.

deferred till evening. "He was too-well acquainted," says his biographer, the author of the well-known *Companion to the Feasts and Fasts*, "with the practice of the primitive Christians, to neglect such observances as they made instrumental to piety and devotion, and had too great a value for his mother, the Church of England, to disobey where she required a compliance. But, above all, he was too intent in making advances in Christian life, to omit a duty all along observed by devout men, and acceptable to God under the Old and New Testament, both as it was helpful to their devotion and became a part of it."

" Martyrs and saints—each glorious day  
Dawning in order on our way—  
Remind us, how our darksome clay  
May keep the ethereal warmth our new Creator brought."

The care bestowed upon ruling his own household, among which his servants were not forgotten, was highly exemplary. Having, doubtless, felt the want of a godly home himself, he was the more anxious to afford this chiefest of earthly blessings—the nursery of life's best and sweetest charities—to those around him. Every morning and evening the altar of family-worship was raised in his household; on which occasions, it is worthy of remark, he always used the prayers of the Church. "The Whole

Duty of Man" also afforded favourite and excellent matter for domestic exhortation, especially on Sunday evenings. Nor were his own private devotions neglected: frequently during the night—for he was accustomed to retire late, as well as rise early—he was heard lifting up his soul to God in fervent prayer in behalf of himself and flock, or else giving utterance to his feelings by singing some of the Psalms, as rendered in the old version, which, as did Bishop Beveridge, he greatly preferred to the new.

But vigilant as he was in the discharge of strictly pastoral duties, these did not occupy the whole of his time; for while at Suddington, it was that he commenced most of those immortal works which have ever been ranked among the noblest efforts of polemical theology, and the most irrefragable apologies of the Christian Church. Of his writings, several are known to be lost; among which a treatise in which he endeavoured to show what was the posture of communicating in the blessed sacrament, before the doctrine of transubstantiation was received, so that the posture of kneeling might be justified in opposition to those who pretended that in the purer ages of Christianity sitting was the usual posture. Besides this tract, several sermons, together with a Latin letter to Bishop Pearson, written to that learned divine when he

was about publishing his "Vindication of the Epistles of St. Ignatius," were missing among his manuscripts. Although we may well regret the loss of whatever proceeded from his pen, it is no little consolation to know that so many of his works still remain to us. The first of these appeared in the year 1669, under the title of *Harmonia Apostolica*, &c., which is divided into two parts : in the former of which St. James's doctrine of the justification, not by faith only, but by works, is clearly stated ; and in the latter, St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith only, without the works of the law. The harmony of the apostles teaching on this vital point is then proved ; and it is shown that they agree in inculcating that man is justified or judicially pronounced righteous by God, for Christ's sake, in respect of works as well as of faith. Self-evident as this truth is to every unbiassed reader of Scripture, the sad state of the times rendered a proof of it highly beneficial ; for while some, perverting the sense of St. James, were exalting works into the meritorious cause of our salvation, others, claiming the sanction of St. Paul, were depreciating them as altogether unnecessary. It was in order to correct either of these vicious extremes, which were propagated far and wide through the agency of the press,

that Bull drew up, at the age of twenty-seven, while at Easton, a treatise on the subject, without any intention of publishing it. After it had lain by about eight years, during which he had made considerable additions to the manuscript, he placed it in the hands of his diocesan, who was so struck with its excellence that he strongly advised the publication of it. "Greatly," says the author in his dedication, "did that saying of St. Ignatius, 'Let nothing that concerns the Church be done without the bishop' impress me; and therefore I determined to publish no theological work without your advice. Hence I took occasion to place before you the following dissertations in MS., abiding your decision whether they should be for ever suppressed, or committed to the press."<sup>1</sup> He wrote in Latin, that the treatise might be more generally known to the learned; while at the same time it would not afford matter of controversy to the ignorant, who were unable to read the universal language. In the mysterious doctrines of grace and free-will he followed the exposition of Dr. Hammond.

Controversy, however, it did provoke, and the appearance of the work brought down upon its author the censure both of churchmen and dissenters. Bishop Morley, the only stain upon a

<sup>1</sup> Works, vol. iii.

character otherwise irreproachable, warned his clergy against it in one of his charges: some of the heads of houses at Oxford publicly condemned it, as did Dr. Barlow, then Margaret Professor of Theology, and several tutors; while dissenters of various denominations, Gataker, Trueman and Tombes, strongly animadverted upon it, as contravening Scripture and the teaching of the English and foreign reformers. Knowing the injurious tendency of such controversies, Bull deeply lamented that he should in any way have been the cause of them. This feeling induced him to call upon one of his assailants, Dr. Tully, principal of St. Edmund Hall, before he sent forth a treatise against the Harmony. Bull implored him "to consider well the peace of God's Church, and to take diligent heed, lest by public dissension between two divines of the same communion, the enemies of our Church might take occasion of upbraiding and reproaching her, or, besides the schismatists, some of her own weak members might happen to be offended hereby also," and did entreat him that he would, for preventing the evil, as a friend communicate to him his papers, upon this condition, that if by these he could make it out that he had written anything against sound doctrine, he would not refuse publicly to retract

his error. This reasonable proposal Dr. Tully agreed to at the time, but never carried it into effect; so Bull calmly waited till the violence of the storm had subsided, and then put forth an answer to the attacks which had been made in the *Censure* and *Animadversion*, under the title of "An Examination of the Censure; or, an Answer to certain Animadversions, never before published, upon a book entitled 'The Apostolic Harmony,' &c.; and an Apology for the 'Apostolic Harmony' and the Author thereof, against the declamation of Thomas Tully, D.D., in a book lately set forth by him under the title of 'Justificatio Paulina.'" These works appeared in one volume, in the year 1673; but the kind patron to whom he would, as in duty bound, have dedicated it was no more. While Bull was preparing an answer to Dr. Tully's objections, Bishop Nicholson died, at the advanced age of eighty-two. He was a learned and good man, as his writings and the numberless excellent deeds recorded of him show. Bull felt his loss severely. He had already, in his first dedication, expressed his deep obligation to this first patron of his studies. "All who know me," says he, "must be aware of the favour you

<sup>1</sup> His Exposition of the Church Catechism has just been republished in the Anglo-Catholic Library.

have shown me. Through your aid especially my lot has fallen on this diocese, with sufficient provision; to you I am indebted for the leisure I have for these studies." He had the melancholy gratification of further expressing his sense of the bishop's many favours in an epitaph, which he was requested to write upon him, for a handsome monument erected to his memory in Gloucester Cathedral by a grandson of the bishop's wife.

But whatever opposition Bull experienced from party men, there were not a few of opposite character who duly appreciated his labours. Of these was the excellent Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Chancellor of England, a man whose piety led him to seek out worthy persons on whom he might bestow the church-patronage he held. For the discovery of such, he expressly commissioned his chaplain, the future Archbishop Sharp;<sup>1</sup> and it was probably through his introduction that Bull was installed into a prebend of Gloucester Cathedral (Oct. 9, 1678).

It is a little curious that, while engaged in re-

<sup>1</sup> Birch says that Tillotson obtained this preferment for Bull, and blames Nelson's silence on the subject. But, as Dr. Burton well suggests, that silence may have arisen from the fact that, if Tillotson was the cause of the preferment, Nelson himself interceded with his friend for his old tutor.



pling the charge of popery which his various antagonists so unjustly advanced against him, he was consulted by two ladies as to the best means of resisting very powerful efforts which were being made by a relative to seduce them to the Romish Communion. One of these ladies, the Countess of Newburgh, being a daughter of Lady Pool of Cirencester, she was advised by her mother to consult him on the subject. He had several private conferences with them; and in reply to a treatise entitled the "Catholic Scripturist," which had been sent to the Countess of Newburgh as unanswerable, Bull returned a letter in "Vindication of the Church of England from the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome." This valuable document was for some time missing, and Nelson when he wrote the bishop's life had only heard of it. Happily for us, however, it was afterwards found, and published by the bishop's son.<sup>1</sup> The exposure therein given to the fallacies of the "Catholic Scripturist," and the novelties of Romanism generally, by proving that "the Church of Rome hath altered the primitive ecclesiastical government, changed the primitive canon or rule of faith, and, lastly, miserably corrupted the primitive liturgy" was, under God's blessing, instrumental in preserving the lady to whom it was addressed, and her friend, in the old paths of

<sup>1</sup> See Works, vol. ii. p. 137.

the English Church; for such he maintains, notwithstanding the Reformation, is the position of our Church. "Our Church was then [before Luther] where it is now, even here in England. She hath not changed one whit of what she held before, any way pertaining either to the being or the well-being of a Church; only she hath made an alteration in some things which seemed to her (and so they will to all indifferent judges) greatly prejudicial to both. She still retains the same common rule of faith. She still teacheth the necessity of a holy life, and presseth good works as much as before; only she is grown more humble, and dares not ascribe any merit to them. She still retains all the fundamental ordinances and institutions of Christianity. She baptizeth, she feeds with the Holy Eucharist, she confirmeth. She retaineth the same apostolical government of bishops, priests, and deacons. And because she finds that a set form of liturgy is used by all Christian Churches in the world without any known beginning, she hath hers too, and that a grave, solemn, excellently composed one, conformed as near as she could devise to the pattern of the most ancient offices . . . . . As to Catholic customs, our Church (so far is she from the love of innovation) professeth all reverence and respect unto

them. Upon this score, she still observes all the great and ancient festivals of the Church with great solemnity . . . . . she still honours the memory of the holy apostles, saints, and martyrs, and hath days wherein to express this, and to bless God for them, and propound their virtues to the imitation of her sons. The ancient fasts of the Church she hath not rejected; and, therefore, because she finds a Lent or solemn fast, before the great feast of Easter, presently after the apostles universally observed (though with a considerable variety as to number of days, and the hours of abstinence on those days) in the Church of God, she recommends the same observation to her sons, in the full number of forty days, to be kept as days of stricter temperance and prayer too, by all those whose health and other circumstances will permit them to undertake it. She still observes the fasts of the four seasons, or Ember weeks. She still recommends the two weekly stations of the primitive Church to the observation of her sons, Wednesday and Friday, distinguishing them from other days of the week by the more solemn and penitential office of the Litany. And in the table of fasts to be observed, all Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day, are expressly mentioned. I might proceed," continues

the writer, "but these are abundantly sufficient to show that the Church of England in her Reformation effected no unnecessary change or innovation. Indeed she made no change or innovation, but of those things that were themselves manifest changes and innovations, yea, something worse; such as those above mentioned, image worship, the worship and invocation of saints and angels, the dry communion, the senseless and unreasonable service of God in an unknown tongue, enjoined the people, and not understood by them."<sup>1</sup>

No wonder that the Countess of Newburgh was satisfied to remain in the bosom of a Church thus ably vindicated. But Bull's efforts to reclaim those who had already relapsed into dissent of another form were not so successful. He tried hard to convince the quakers, "the dregs of superstition" as he rightly designates them, who infested his parish, of the sin of their fanaticism, but in vain; for, headed by a violent leader, named John Roberts, they remained hardened in schism. This fanatic was a violent calumniator of Bull's character; yet how little worthy he was of credit the following anecdote will show. "George," said this intrusive preacher one day to Mr. Bull, "as for human learning, I set no value upon it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee." "Come on, then,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 206—209.

friend," quietly answered Mr. Bull. So opening the Bible, which lay before them, he opened at the book of Proverbs. "Seest thou, friend," said he, "Solomon saith in one place, 'Answer a fool according to his folly;' and in another place he saith, 'Answer not a fool according to his folly.' How dost thou reconcile these two texts of Scripture?" "Why," boldly rejoined the preacher, "Solomon don't say so." To which Mr. Bull replied, "Ay, but he doth;" and turning to the place, soon convinced him. Upon which the quaker, being much out of countenance, said, "Why then Solomon's a fool,"—an answer peculiarly characteristic of the modesty and reverence of sectarians in general, and of quakers in particular.<sup>1</sup>

But, happily, Bull's parishioners were not all like John Roberts. At Suddington it was that Robert Nelson, then residing with his mother at Dryfield, became his pupil; and no higher praise can be bestowed upon the tutor than hav-

<sup>1</sup> Bull seems to have excited the wrath of the quaker by his pleasantries. On one occasion, Daniel Roberts, who wrote his father's life, tells us that when his father offered a cup of ale to the priest Bull, he refused it, saying, "*It is full of hops of heresy.*" See Life, p. 53, quoted by Burton. In his sermons, he also frequently alluded to quakers as miserably deluded people. See "Sermon on Human Means useful to Uninspired People." vol. i. p. 25.

ing been, as Nelson himself admits, instrumental to the formation of his incomparable character. The connexion then formed ripened into the closest friendship; and it is well known that we are indebted to Nelson for a life of the good bishop,—one of the most pleasing and instructive biographies in our language. “I thought myself, upon several accounts, obliged to comply with his request [of Bull’s son to write his father’s life], and, therefore, was too easily overcome by his importunity. For I had maintained a long and intimate friendship with his lordship, which gave me an opportunity of being acquainted with his solid and substantial worth. I had frequently sat at his feet as he was a preacher, and as often felt the force of those distinguishing talents which enabled him to shine in the pulpit; but, above all, I had preserved a grateful remembrance of those advantages which I had received from him in my education, part whereof was committed to his care and direction.”

The seeds of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, so prodigally sown during the rebellion, now began to spring up and ripen into fruit. Notice has already been taken of the prevalence of Solidian errors, and of Bull’s efforts to stifle them. But, if possible, the more deadly notions of So-

cinianism and Arianism, hatched in Holland, now found a congenial soil in England; and the teaching of the Council of Nice, so far as regarded the declaration of the Son of God's real divinity, was said to be new, and contradictory of Catholic doctrine before that period. This was boldly asserted by Socinus, Episcopius, Zuicker, Sandius, and other foreign controversialists. To counteract the influence of what thus undermined the very foundation-stones of Christianity, Petavius, a learned Romanist, and Curcellæus, a Protestant writer, had sent forth treatises. But these were far from being satisfactory; for while professing to defend one article of the faith, they did much to weaken others. It was, indeed, more than suspected that the Jesuit, while acknowledging the Nicene Creed, purposely designed, by hinting, that the earlier Christian writers held opinions somewhat akin to Arianism, to throw discredit upon the testimony of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, when urged against the corruptions of Romanism; all of which, it was well known, were discountenanced, if not condemned by them. In a word, he endeavoured to substitute what is called Christian development for Catholic tradition. This made Bull still more ready than otherwise he might have been to listen to those friends

who urged him to bring his acknowledged patristical learning to bear on this important discussion, even had he not been desirous of seizing an earlier opportunity of clearing himself from the charge of Arianism, which had been most unfairly brought against him by the opponents of his *Harmonia*. Indeed, he had in the apology of that work hinted that he was drawing up certain ecclesiastical treatises concerning the Godhead of the Son. These were ready for the press in the year 1680; and the reader will probably be surprised, on considering the present facilities of publishing, that five years elapsed before they were given to the world. No publisher, though Bull made very fair offers (*sub æquissimis conditionibus offerebam*) to three, being willing to undertake the work, which, having an author of obscure reputation, as he modestly says, and treating on a subject of acknowledged difficulty and little general interest, could not expect to have many purchasers. As, therefore, Bull's slender means and large family rendered it impossible, and if possible, imprudent, for him to incur the responsibility of publication, the theses would probably have remained generally unknown, had not a friend advised that the rejected MS. should be handed over to Dr. Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity



in the University of Oxford, for his perusal. A very cursory glance soon convinced this learned divine of the merit of these works; and he transmitted them to Bishop Fell, the biographer and friend of Hammond. This great patron of learning and virtue immediately undertook the publication of the work at his own expense; and, in the year 1685, it issued from the Oxford press, under the title of *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*,<sup>1</sup> with a dutiful and appropriate dedication to the generous prelate who had been mainly instrumental to its appearance. The object of this treatise, as will be inferred from what has already been said, was not only to disprove Arianism, but to controvert the opinions of Petavius<sup>2</sup> and Curcullæus, who had much depreciated the early Christian writers; in a word, to show that the pre-existence, divine consubstantiality, eternity, and subordination of the Son to the Father was

<sup>1</sup> Works, vol. v. parts 1, 2. In this work (a. iv. c. 3) Bull produces a reference to St. Ignatius' epistle to St. Polycarp, which he had found in Irenæus, in whose writings Pearson had already detected a reference to his epistle to the Romans. Of course this discovery of Bull confirms Pearson's celebrated "Vindication." And might not this have been the subject of his letter to Pearson, now said to be lost? See "Life of Hammond;" also Blunt's "Sketch, &c." p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> It is only fair to state, on the authority of Bossuet, that Petavius recanted these opinions.

not only the doctrine of that venerable Council, (than which the Christian world never, since that of the apostles, saw one which better deserved the name of general and free, or an assembly of bishops and rulers of the Church more august and holy,<sup>1</sup>) but that of the Ante-Nicene Fathers also. This proof is accomplished with unusual skill and learning; and though the doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the Father, a subordination not of nature but of order, was not so clearly stated as to prevent a misapprehension of the author's meaning, and to afford a handle for Dr. Clarke and others to wrest it as a testimony to their own heterodoxy, yet the work has generally been considered an unanswerable defence of the Nicene faith. Bossuet, the celebrated Bishop of Meaux, recommended it to the perusal of a controversialist of his own communion; and the University of Oxford, through the influence of Bishop Fell and Dr. Jane, testified its approbation by conferring the honorary diploma of Doctor in Divinity upon the distinguished writer. The merit of the performance is not a little enhanced by the adverse circumstances under which it was written, and which Bull feelingly alludes to in his preface. He speaks of himself as being of mediocre talent and learning,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Proœmium*.

the possessor of an ordinary library, suffering from bad health, fixed in the cure of a country parish, and, as if an exile from the world of letters, far removed from the society of learned men.<sup>1</sup>

Before this academic distinction, he received a mark of approbation, if not more honourable, at least more substantial, and likely to diminish some of the difficulties of his situation just hinted at. His ecclesiastical income having been for twenty years not more than one hundred a year, was, even with the addition of his small patrimony, of which he was obliged to dispose, inadequate to the calls of his family, now growing up and becoming yearly more expensive, to his many charities, the purchase of his books, and the payment of a curate, which his delicate health, brought on by excessive night studies, rendered necessary. Nor is it matter of surprise that, with such contracted means, he was frequently in pecuniary difficulties. Still, such was the natural contentedness of his disposition, and his sincere trust in the providence of the God he served, that he was seldom dispirited, never fretful or repining. And, of a truth, if they who are engaged in the immediate service of the Almighty may not safely commit their ways unto Him, in the assurance that He will bring them to pass, there seems to be no

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Lectorem*, p. viii.

sphere on earth wherein faith may exercise itself. Animated by this spirit of trustfulness, he sedulously discharged the daily duties which lay in his path, in the hope that in God's own time increased means, if such were for his good, would be afforded him. And in a very remarkable manner this expectation was realized.

While visiting, for the good of his health, at Astrop-Wells, in Northamptonshire, he was in company with several friends, one of whom was Mr. Sheppard, the patron of the living of Avening, in Gloucestershire, who had just received intelligence that the vicarage was vacant by the death of the incumbent. As was natural, he informed his friends of the communication he had received, and began to speak about the qualifications he should endeavour to find in the clergyman whom he should present. This was done to draw from Bull, to whom Mr. Sheppard had obviously alluded in what he had said, an expression of his willingness to accept the living if offered to him. He was, however, too modest a man to apply the description to himself, and too conscientious and high-minded to do anything which might seem like intruding into a sphere of duty, or which savoured of preferment-hunting; so, without taking any particular notice of the conversation, he left the company, and walked out into the garden. During his absence, the patron declared

the object of his communication, and expressed his intention of offering it to Bull, which, on his returning into the room, he did. Bull gratefully accepted the offer, and shortly afterwards removed from Sud-dington, where he had resided twenty-seven years, to Avening (1685).

This parish, like most others in England at this time, was sadly disaffected to the doctrines and discipline of the Church,<sup>1</sup> and he had no little difficulty in reducing it to order. After rebuilding the parsonage, the greater portion of which had recently been burnt down, he took up his permanent abode among the parishioners, among whom, by his indefatigable zeal, tempered with prudence and conciliatory bearing, by, for his limited means, his profuse charity and hospitality, and by an additional weekly sermon and catechising, he soon, with the assistance, or rather co-operation, of a worthy curate, made a visible impression for good. The manner in which Bull treated his curate was very commendable. Instead of looking upon him, as is

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of the age in which he lived, Bull observes in one of his sermons, "Enthusiasm and atheism divide the spoil; and the former makes way for the latter, till at length it be devoured by it. In the mean time enthusiasm fills the conventicle and empties the Church: silly people dance after its pipe, and are lured by it from their lawful orthodox teaching, to run they know not whither, to hear they know not whom, and to learn they know not what." — *Works*, i. p. 255.

too often the case, as a mere hired servant, he considered him as of the same holy order of priesthood as himself, and therefore of equal power and authority in the Church of Christ. Hence it was that he always divided the divine service equally between his curate and himself; lest by preaching more frequently than the former, he might induce the notion among the vulgar that preaching was a more honourable and important function than prayer, or at any rate depreciate his curate in the estimation of the people as being unqualified for the duties of the pulpit. This he was wont to denounce as "a wicked practice," originating in the pride, selfishness, or neglect of the incumbent. He also agreed with his curate that each should tell the other of any faults he might discover in him.

He had not been long at Avening before he received another testimony to his high character, from one whose name is redolent of all that is best and noblest in our regenerated nature, Archbishop San-  
croft, who preferred him to the Archdeaconry of Llandaff. He was also placed in the commission of the peace, and exerted in that capacity very wholesome restraint upon the immorality and profaneness of those distracted times. In the pulpit, he took every opportunity of warning his hearers against the spirit of Popery, which, under the favour of the

reigning sovereign, James II., was thought to be making progress in England.

But the additional duties which devolved upon Dr. Bull, in respect of these responsible offices, did not prevent the employment of his pen in defence of the truth. The Arian controversies still continued, both at home and abroad, and every theological writer of the times touched upon them in his works. Episcopius, who filled the divinity-chair at Leyden, had recently published his "Theological Institutes," in which he maintained that the belief of the article concerning the divine generation of the Son of God from God the Father was not considered, in the primitive Church, to be necessary to salvation, and that it held communion with those who denied that verity, and taught and believed that, Christ was a mere man, having no existence before the Blessed Virgin Mary. This assertion Bull well knew to contravene the whole teaching of the primitive Church; and for his own satisfaction he had drawn up a refutation of it, by passages from the early Fathers, in which he proved that, as the Nicene Creed contained the doctrine of the early Church before the formal declaration of the Council which enjoined it, so also did the anathema of that Council, which declared all to be anathematized who say that there was a time when

the Son of God was not, and that He was not before He was born, or that He was made of nothing, or that He is of another essence or substance from the Father, or that He is created, convertible, or changeable.<sup>1</sup> In order to establish this fact, he, in the first place, adduces the testimony of the primitive Fathers, who teach quite plainly that a belief in the true divinity of Christ was absolutely necessary [*prorsus necessarium*] to salvation. He then shows, from ecclesiastical history, that no one in the first ages of Christianity ever denied the divine generation of Jesus Christ our Lord from God the Father before all worlds, without having been forthwith ejected from the communion of the Catholic Church and denounced as a heretic. He concludes by answering at length the arguments by which Episcopus tried to establish his heresy. Such is the scope of the "Judgment of the Catholic Church of the Three First Ages concerning the necessity of believing that our Lord Jesus Christ is true God, asserted against M. Simon Episcopus and others;"<sup>2</sup> which, as Bull himself observes, may be considered the completion of his defence of the Nicene Creed.

This admirable treatise was published in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Præmonitio ad Lectorem*.

<sup>2</sup> It need not be said that this work was written in Latin, with the title *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c.



year 1694; and soon after its appearance, the author forwarded a copy to his old pupil Robert Nelson, with the following interesting letter:—

“HOLBORN, LONDON, *August 6th*, —94.

“WORTHY SIR,

“I was much troubled when lately I understood, by my sister Gregory from Mr. Hanger’s family,<sup>1</sup> that you never received any answer to your obliging letter which, about a year ago, with two pamphlets, you sent me. I do assure you, that as soon as I could have leisure cursorily to peruse those pamphlets, I wrote a brief answer to your letter and them, and delivered it to the post with my own hand. I directed my letter to be left for you with Madam Nelson in Throgmorton-street, behind the Old Exchange. Of this I thought good to inform you, that you may not think me guilty of so much ill-nature, and ill-breeding too, as to slight so worthy a person and friend as you are, than whom I scarce know any one in the world I have a greater respect and (if you will admit of that friendly word) love for. I have sent you, together with this, a Latin treatise of mine, which I lately published, and which I entreat you to accept of. I do not yet know how

<sup>1</sup> The Hangers of Dryfield were near relatives of Nelson. See “Life of Robert Nelson,” in “Lives of English Laymen,” p. 210.

to direct a letter that it may speedily and certainly come to your hands. If you will give me direction by a line or two, I shall very gladly, if you please, maintain a frequent intercourse of letters with you. I have been some few days in London; and if my occasions would have permitted, and I could have found you out, I should have been ambitious of kissing your hand. Indeed I truly long for an opportunity of seeing your face, and will not despair of meeting you at some time or other at Avening in Gloucestershire, where no man living shall be more welcome to, Sir,

“Your very affectionate and faithful friend and humble servant,

“GEO. BULL.

“If you please at any time to write to me, direct your letter thus: ‘For Dr. Bull, at Avening, near Tedbury, in Gloucestershire.’”

Some time after the receipt of the volume which accompanied this letter, Nelson forwarded probably the very same copy to Bossuet, who acknowledged it in the following terms: “As to Dr. Bull’s performance, “I was willing to read it all over before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give you my sense of it. It is admirable; and the matter he treats could not be

explained with greater learning and greater judgment. This is what I desire you would be pleased to acquaint him with, and at the same time with the unfeigned congratulations of all the clergy of France, assembled in this place [St. Germain's], for the service he does the Catholic Church, in so well defending her determination of the necessity of believing in the divinity of the Son of God. Give me leave to acquaint him there is one thing I wonder at, which is that so great a man, who speaks so advantageously of the Church, of salvation which is only in unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, which infers the same assistance of all others assembled in the same Church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or rather, Sir, let him vouchsafe to tell me, who am a zealous defender of the doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the term Catholic Church? Is it the Church of Rome, and those that adhere to her? is it the Church of England? is it a confused heap of societies separated the one from the other? And how can they be that kingdom of Christ not divided against itself, and which never shall perish? It would be a great satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this subject that might explain the opinion of so weighty and solid an author."

This letter of Bossuet, in which we see on what slender grounds the members of the Romish Church are ready to claim adherents to her cause, was handed over by Nelson to the person to whom it chiefly referred, who readily complied with the bishop's request by answering the queries contained in it. True it is that Bossuet himself died before the answer could be conveyed to him; but it still remains for the instruction of others, and to show how prejudice may pervert an argument which is really most subversive of our principles. This delusion on the part of Monsieur de Meaux, for one shrinks from accusing him of wilful misrepresentation for the sake of appearing to have discovered a proselyte to Romanism, Dr. Bull soon dispels in his answer. "He wonders," says the writer, "how I, that speak so advantageously of the Church, &c., can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Her!" exclaims Bull. "What her doth the bishop mean? Doubtless the present Church of Rome, in the communion whereof he himself lives, and to which his design seems to be to invite me. But where do I speak so advantageously of the Church of Rome? Nowhere I am sure. My thoughts concerning her I have plainly (perhaps too plainly and bluntly in the opinion of Monsieur de Meaux) delivered in the book which

he so commends, where, having spoken of that singular purity of the faith which was in the Church of Rome in the first ages, and taken notice of and extolled by some of the primitive Fathers, I thus conclude, ‘Oh, that so great a happiness and purity of faith had always continued in that Church. But alas! we may now cry out in the holy prophet’s words, How is the faithful city become an harlot?’”

This certainly is not speaking very advantageously of the Church of Rome. Nor was it Bull’s intention to do so, as the very title of the work showed. He spake indeed of the Church of the first three centuries with very great deference. “To her judgment,” he asserts, “next to the holy Scriptures, I appeal against the oppugners of our Lord’s divinity at this day, whether Arians or Socinians. The rule of faith, the symbols or creeds, the profession whereof was in those ages, the condition of communion with the Catholic Church (mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, and others), I heartily and firmly believe. This primitive and Catholic Church, as to her government and discipline, her doctrines of faith, and her worship of God, I think ought to be the standard by which we are to judge of the orthodoxy and purity of all other succeeding

Churches.<sup>1</sup> . . According to this rule, the Church of England will be found the best and purest Church at this day in the Christian world. Upon which account I bless God that I was born, baptized, and bred up in her communion; wherein I firmly resolve by His grace to persist *usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum* [unto my life's end]."

As to Bossuet's saying that he speaks of salvation as only to be found in unity with her, "Her!" again exclaims the doctor. "Doth the bishop again mean the present Church of Rome? If he doth, I must plainly tell him I am so far from ever thinking that salvation is only to be found in unity with her, that, on the contrary, I verily believe that they are in great danger of their salvation who live in her communion; that is, who own her erroneous doctrines and join in her corrupt worship."

<sup>1</sup> "Learn from henceforth," he observes, to the friend at whose suggestions he wrote his Discourse of the State of Man before the Fall, "the modesty of submitting your judgment to that of the Catholic doctors, where they are found generally to concur in their interpretation of a text of Scripture, how absurd soever that interpretation may seem to be. For upon a diligent search you will find that *aliquid latet quod non patet*, 'there is a mystery in the bottom;' and that what at first view seemed even ridiculous, will afterwards appear to be a most important truth. Let them, therefore, who reading the Fathers are prone to laugh at that in them which they do not presently understand seriously consider, *quanto suo periculo id faciant*."—*Works*, ii. p. 99.

After observing that his belief in the infallibility of the Council of Nice did not at all imply his having the same esteem for that of Trent, which he did not consider to be a general council, but a mere convention, he proceeds to answer the bishop's queries, and to explain what he means by the Catholic Church. "What I mean by the Catholic Church, in the book which he all along refers to, I have already shown. If he asks me what I mean by the Catholic Church, speaking of it as it now is, I answer: By the Catholic Church I mean the Church universal, being a collection of all the Churches throughout the world who retain the faith once ( $\delta\pi\alpha\lambda$ ) delivered to the saints (Jude iii.); that is, who hold, and profess in the substance of it, that faith and religion which was delivered by the apostles of Christ to the first original Churches, according to Tertullian's rule.<sup>1</sup> Which faith and religion is contained in the holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, and the main foundations of it comprised in the canon or rule of faith universally received throughout the primitive Churches, and the profession thereof acknowledged to be a sufficient *tessera* or badge of a Catholic Christian. All the Churches at this day which hold and profess this faith and religion, however distant in place, or distinguished by

<sup>1</sup> *Præscrip. adv. Hæret.* c. 20, 21.

different rites and ceremonies, yea, or divided in some extra fundamental points of doctrine, yet agreeing in the essentials of the Christian religion, make up together one Christian Catholic Church, under the Lord Christ, the Supreme Head thereof. The Catholic Church under this notion is not a confused heap of societies separated one from another."

He then declares his conviction that the Church of Rome, "if she may be allowed still to remain a part or member of the Catholic Church (which hath been questioned by some learned men upon grounds and reasons not very easy to be answered), is certainly a very unsound and corrupted one, and sadly degenerated from her primitive purity." This judgment is very triumphantly established, by showing that she hath quite altered the primitive ecclesiastical government, by erecting a monarchy in the Church, and setting up her bishop as the universal pastor of the whole Catholic Church; that she hath changed the primitive canon or rule of faith by the unscriptural additions of the Tridentine Articles, and miserably corrupted the primitive liturgy by using a language not understood by the people, and enjoining the idolatrous worship of the saints and Blessed Virgin. In the course of this investigation, the corruptions of popery are thoroughly exposed,



and the Reformation in England defended ; and the writer concludes by retorting upon Bossuet his wonder—how so learned a man as Monsieur de Meaux can, with a good conscience, continue in the Roman Church.

As was to be expected, the toleration of dissent which followed the accession of the Prince of Orange to the English throne afforded favourable scope to the licentiousness of private judgment—the great ally of Socinianism. The Socinians, indeed, somewhat inconsistently with the principle of the measure, were excluded from the otherwise universal toleration ; but this was no obstacle to the progress of their opinions, which were as naturally fostered by the acts of toleration as the seed of the sower is by rain and sunshine.

The Arians and Socinians at this time employed new tactics, and maintained that the existing Scriptures were either wrested from their original meaning to favour the modern doctrine of the Trinity (so it was called), or that they were grossly interpolated. The apostles, it was declared, taught that Christ was a mere man, having no existence before his birth of the Virgin Mary, and that the disciples of Simon Magus were the first perverters of this doctrine. Afterwards Justin Martyr, ensnared by the Simonians, and following the dogmas of the

Platonic philosophy, the notions of Sybelline and Orphaic verses, and imitating prevailing polytheism and apotheoses of distinguished persons, had first expressly declared the divinity of Christ. Such was the bold assumption of Zuicker, a Prussian professor, whose opinions were readily received in England, and made many proselytes, one of whom had openly attacked Bull's "Defence of the Nicene Faith." Had not, therefore, the desire of preserving the cardinal doctrine of Christianity from corruption been a sufficient motive for his coming forward in its defence, he might have found one in the wish to vindicate his own work and character (for both were assailed) from the unjust attacks which were made upon them. Besides, as his previous Latin works were about to be published under the editorship of his "most learned and kind friend" Dr. Grabe, his own increasing age and infirmities rendering him unequal to the task, it was thought by his publisher to be a fit opportunity for giving to the world what he had prepared against Zuicker's theory. In the year 1703, a treatise appeared in Latin under the title of "The Primitive and Apostolical Tradition of the Doctrine received in the Catholic Church, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, asserted and clearly demonstrated against Daniel Zuicker, the Prussian, and his late

followers in England." In this tract, which contains an introduction and six chapters, the writer clearly shows that Justin Martyr did not first introduce into the Church the doctrine of Christ's pre-existence before the creation of the world of which He was Himself the Creator; that he was not ensnared by the deceits of the Simonians, who, by the way, never taught the divinity of Christ; that he did not receive his notions of the Logos from Plato; and that he abhorred from his soul the pagan polytheism. On the other hand, it is shown that Justin Martyr and other Fathers had grounded the divinity of Christ upon the adoration assigned to Him by the holy Scriptures. The opinions of Hegessipus concerning the person of Jesus Christ is also handled, and some important and curious observations are made about the Sybelline oracles and the verses of Orpheus.

Probably when this work appeared, he had also written his "*Animadversions*" upon a tract entitled *Ante-Nicenisimus*, by Gilbert Clerke, against his defence of the Nicene Creed; but it was not published till several years afterwards. A letter of Dr. Bull to Grabe relating to it is extant, which is too characteristic of the writer's humility, gratitude, and piety to be omitted. He thus addresses the distinguished editor of his Latin works :—

" EVENING, Jan. 25, 1702-3.

" WORTHY SIR,

" I am not able to express the grateful sense I have of your kindness and condescension, in taking upon you the trouble of revising, correcting, perfecting, and adorning with your learned notes, the new edition of my works, and particularly in your ready and voluntary undertaking an answer to the *Ante-Nicenismus*. If my poor labours hereafter prove useful to the Church of God, a great share of the thanks due from men, and of the gracious reward of our good and merciful God, will be justly yours. I wish I were able to make you some sensible effectual requital. But my poor circumstances are such that I can return you nothing but my prayers to God, that he would reward you abundantly in this life, and that which is to come. The short notes and animadversions upon the *Ante-Nicenismus*, which I mentioned in my letter to Dr. Bray, you will receive, if I live, this day seven-night; for I will send them by post next Saturday. I wish they may be such as your judgment may approve of. They are perfectly at your disposal, to do with them as you please. And if there be anything in them which may be of use to you in your answer to the *Ante-Nicenismus*, I shall be very glad. Dear Sir, farewell; and that God would

bless and prosper you and your labours for the good of the Church is and shall be the daily and hearty prayer of

“Your most obliged and affectionate friend and faithful servant,

“GEO. BULL.”

We must now contemplate him in the discharge of holier duties. The invaluable service which Dr. Bull had rendered to the cause of truth, having written, as even Burnet admits, “the learnedest treatise that the age produced of the doctrine of the primitive Church concerning the Trinity,” could not fail to prompt the thought, that if piety and learning were qualifications for the episcopal office, he possessed those qualifications in no ordinary measure. The political motives which at that time began to operate in the choice of bishops had hitherto prevented the Church receiving the benefit of his services; and probably it might never have received them, had not Tenison, the primate, prompted by Archbishop Sharp, his old patron, personally recommended him to the notice of Queen Anne. The appeal was not in vain; and the Bishopric of St. David being vacant, an offer was made him of that ancient see, commemorative of one of the most illustrious of British saints, which for many cen-

turies remained the metropolitan throne of the Welsh Church, and about a century before had been filled by the martyr Laud, in whose life Heylin gives too interesting an account of the antiquity and then condition of the diocese to be omitted. He describes it as being situate on the promontory in Pembrokeshire, by the ancients called Ortopitæ, in a safe place, and far enough from the Saxons, whom the Welsh most feared; but incommodious enough for all the rest of the clergy to repair unto. Nor did it prove so safe for the bishop, and other inhabitants of it, as had been presumed, in respect of sundry other nations, who have often spoiled and defaced it; insomuch that the bishops were enforced to remove their dwelling to Caermarthen, a fair market-town, and beautified with a goodly Collegiate Church, not far from which, in a village called Aberguely, the bishop hath his ordinary place of residence. This brought the city of St. David's, small enough before, to the condition of a village, there being nothing almost remaining in it but the church, the ruins of the bishop's palace, and some houses appertaining to the canons of it. The church as it now stands (if any of it be now left standing),<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Most of the eastern extremity is in ruins. The nave has been repaired, and is now used as a parish church. An interesting account of a visit to St. David's is given in vol. xiv. of "The British Magazine" (1838), p. 304.

was the work of Bishop Peter, the forty-eighth bishop of this diocese, and by him dedicated by the name of St. Andrew and St. David ; though now St. Andrew be left out, and St. David bears the name, as before it did, in reference to St. David, who first removed the archiepiscopal see from Caerleon thither. The place at that time by the Welsh was called Menew, whence the Latins borrow their Mevenenses; by which name these bishops are entitled. From the removal of the see, which happened in the year 519, the bishops were for some time the metropolitans, and for a long time the supreme ordinaries of the Welsh or British ; for although Archbishop Samson, the twenty-sixth from St. David, in the year 910, or thereabouts, had carried the archiepiscopal pall (and therewithal the archiepiscopal dignity) to Dole in Bretagne, by reason of an extreme pestilence then raging amongst the Welsh ; yet his successors, though they lost the name, reserved the power of an archbishop. Nor did the residue of the Welsh bishops receive their consecration from any other hand than his till the reign of Henry I. ; at which time Bernard, the forty-sixth bishop of this see, was forced to restrict himself to the Church of Canterbury.

The offer of this venerable and distinguished see was at first rejected by Bull, his advanced age and

increasing infirmities rendering the prospect of duties so awful more than ordinarily appalling. The persuasion of his friends, however, and, above all, his unwillingness to shrink from any duty which appeared to have providentially fallen to him, induced him eventually to accept the offer, and he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's at Lambeth, on the 29th of April, 1705.

Soon after consecration, he took his seat in the House of Lords; and in the debate upon the bill for uniting England and Scotland, he gave an example of holy boldness, in maintaining the privileges of the English Church, which others of like station would do well to follow. For, as good Robert Nelson, in recording the circumstance, remarks, "it is at all times the indispensable obligation of all pastors and bishops of the Church to behave themselves with an holy boldness and undaunted resolution in the affairs of God and religion, without being awed or biassed by the torrent of the times, or made sordidly to crouch to a prevailing power of worldly politicians, who are for carrying on their own sinister designs at any rate, though always under the most specious pretexts." In the bill before mentioned, the recent presbyterian establishment of Scotland was extolled for the purity of its worship; on hearing which a peer moved



that a clause should be introduced into the bill descriptive of the excellence of the English Church. For," said he, turning to the bench of bishops, "my lords, I have been always taught by my lords the bishops from my youth, that the Church of England is the best constituted Church in the world, and most agreeable to the apostolical institution." As none of the dignitaries appealed to was better entitled to confirm this declaration than Bishop Bull, he rose and said, "My lords, I do second what the noble lord hath moved, and do think it highly reasonable that in this bill a character should be given of our excellent Church. For, my lords, whosoever is skilled in primitive antiquity must allow it for a certain and evident truth, that the Church of England is, in her doctrine, discipline, and worship, most agreeable to the primitive and apostolical institution." These words, from a man like Bishop Bull, could not fail to produce a sensation, and, on leaving the house, Bishop Beveridge, then recently consecrated, and another prelate thanked him for his speech.

It was in July that the bishop went to reside in his diocese, and, as the episcopal palace was greatly out of repair, he took up his abode at Brecknock, where there is a Collegiate Church founded by Henry VIII., consisting of three and twenty pre-

bends. As the see of St. David's had been vacant five years, and the last bishop, Dr. Watson, had been deprived for simony, no wonder that, "by reason of a bad bishop and a long vacancy, it had fallen into great disorder."<sup>1</sup> Many indeed were the things that were wanting, and to supply them was the bishop's earnest aim. In order that he might become better acquainted with these deficiencies, he intended during the summer to have visited his diocese in person; but after he had commenced the laborious undertaking at Brecknock, to the clergy of which he delivered a suitable charge, ill-health prevented his proceeding further. Three years afterwards he made a similar attempt, and was again, from the same cause, obliged to relinquish it. He however appeared by commissioners, to whom he entrusted the charge which he had intended to deliver himself.<sup>2</sup>

In the instructions which he gave to his clergy, he appears to have taken his own practice as a model, the utility of which had been tested by the experience of a long life. He reminded them of the five principal parts of the pastoral office—reading the prayers of the Church, preaching, catechising, administering the holy sacraments of Baptism and the

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's History of his Own Times.

<sup>2</sup> Works, vol. ii. p. 17.

Lord's Supper (the latter of which is said to be the most sacred and mysterious rite, the apex, the top and perfection of Christian worship), and visiting the sick. The prayers of the Church are recommended to be read audibly, distinctly, and reverently; it being the bishop's opinion that want of attention to these particulars is one cause that there are so many sectaries and separatists among us. Preaching is said to be a noble part of the pastor's duty, but difficult, and requiring great knowledge of the Scriptures, and a considerable share of mundane learning. He advises young clergymen not to trust to their own compositions at first, but to make use of the discourses of approved divines. He also dwelt much upon the duty of observing the rubrics which relate to catechising, and the public administration of baptism before the congregation. Especial reverence is recommended in the administration of the Holy Communion, which he forbade to be given to persons known to be vicious and scandalous. This excellent charge, remarkable chiefly for its plainness and sincerity, and the spirit of which it is gratifying to know still animates the throne of St. David's, concludes with appropriate exhortations to the clergy, laity, and churchwardens.

But though the bishop's infirmities prevented him from making a general visitation of his dio-

cese, he was most vigorous in performing other duties of his function. In the admission of candidates to holy orders, which he always did at the appointed Ember seasons, he took every precaution to lay hands suddenly on no man. Thus, a month before the day of ordination, he required each candidate to appear before him, in order that he might have time to inquire into the character of those who had signed the necessary testimonials, as well as into his own views and circumstances. As no one knew better than himself "the difficulty and danger of the priest's office,"<sup>1</sup> he was accustomed to speak much upon them to the candidates who appeared before him. Having given suitable counsel on the subject, he recommended them to spend most of the time which intervened before the ordination in fasting and prayer, and in careful study of the solemn service. After ordination, he addressed them on the best way of discharging their office. So anxious was this good bishop to redeem his consecration vow—

<sup>1</sup> See his sermon under this title, which Mr. Rose designates "incomparable," and earnestly recommends the conclusion of it to the candidates for holy orders, as containing "the most powerful, I may say, the most awful representation of the prospects of a careless priest which exists in this or any other language." See "The Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy," note, p. 179.

“to be faithful in ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others.”

Observing how closely the inefficiency of the clergy in his diocese was connected with their poverty, and knowing that lay impropriations, which extended to nearly one-half of the parishes, were the chief cause of that poverty, he used every effort to obtain restoration to the rightful owners.<sup>1</sup> On this subject he expressed himself strongly. He considered, with Sir Henry Spelman and other great names, that the alienation of tithes was the scandal of the Reformation ; and he often related instances of God's signal vengeance upon some families of his acquaintance who had received them.

Of that charity to poor and needy people which he urged upon others, he was himself a notable example. The objects of his beneficence were innumerable; among which it may be mentioned that he gave a dinner every Sunday to sixty poor people, and allowed a shilling each to twelve old persons weekly, on the condition that they would be instructed in the principles of Christianity, of which too many in his diocese were quite igno-

<sup>1</sup> This opinion is strikingly confirmed by the commissioners sent into Wales to inquire into the cause of the “Rebecca riots.” They assigned the disaffected state of that portion of the principality to the inefficiency of the Church, arising chiefly from the evil of impropriations. See Report.

rant. To the poorer clergy, and especially their widows and fatherless children, he was ever a bountiful benefactor. Indeed, in all such matters, the noble maxim of St. Jerome was his rule: *Gloria episcopi est pauperum opibus providere* [It is a bishop's glory to provide for the wants of the poor].

Nor was he less solicitous for the spiritual wants of others. While living at Brecknock, he repaired the College Chapel, and afforded means for restoring the daily service, at which the bishop himself was always present. He accomplished the same good work at Caermarthen, where he afterwards resided.

He was equally exemplary in the government of his own household; and so anxious was he for the spiritual welfare of his servants, that he would admit none into his family who were not constant communicants. With Bishop Bull the absence of his servants from the Table of the Lord was one of the greatest faults they could commit, and one for which he always severely reprimanded them.

But his valuable life was now drawing to a close. During his whole residence in Wales, he had been more or less an invalid. In the autumn of the year 1709, he caught a severe cold, and,

being one day seized with a fit of coughing, violent hæmorrhage was the consequence. This was succeeded by great weakness, which confined him to his room. From this weakness he never recovered. The few remaining months of his life were passed in daily expectation of that summons which had long been looked for. "You need not be afraid," said he to his physician, who seemed to hesitate in declaring the danger of his condition: "You need not be afraid to tell me plainly what your opinion of me is, for I thank my God that I am not afraid to die; it is what I have expected long ago, and I hope I am not unprepared for it now." During his illness, he evinced that trustfulness in the merits of his Saviour, and that meek endurance of suffering and weakness, which showed that, whatever might be the loss to the Church militant here on earth by his removal, to himself it would be an entrance to the Church triumphant in heaven. He passed much of his time in reviewing his past life, in meditation and prayer. The Litany and office for the Visitation of the Sick, together with the seventy-first Psalm, were said daily in his presence. He frequently partook of the Holy Eucharist, and just before his death, he desired the absolution of the visitation service. His last word was "Amen," to the com-

mentary prayer enjoined to be used for a sick person at the point of departure. He died on the 17th of February, 1709-10, aged seventy-five years; leaving a wife, who survived him but two years, and two only, a son and daughter, of the twelve children with which God had blessed him. Of the eldest of his daughters, who had married Archdeacon Stevens, and died seven years before, it is recorded on her monument "that she was a woman worthy of her father; distinguished for eminent piety, and all the graces which adorn her sex."

Thus lived and died Bishop Bull, who, to quote from his epitaph in the church of Brecknock, where he is buried, was "excellently learned, pious, and charitable." Of his learning, his writings are an imperishable monument.<sup>1</sup> And it is gratifying to know that, profoundly versed as he was in the records, and much as he revered the spirit of primitive antiquity, his whole heart was with his own Mother-Church of England, which he dearly loved and revered as the best-constituted Church in the world. Nor was his zeal in her behalf the result of partisanship or bigotry. He really believed that all who denied her doctrines,

<sup>1</sup> The edition of Bull's Works referred to in this memoir is that of Dr. Burton's printed at Oxford (1827).



"A bishop does not know his office in the Church, if he pretends to distinguish himself by power, imperiousness, and grandeur ; or by any other way than by humility, and by a great concern for souls. Marks of distinction are rather a burden which he bears out of necessity, but complains of them secretly to God. He considers himself as the servant, not as the lord of souls. Even Jesus Christ made himself our pattern in this."

"The good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.' (John x. 11.)—  
O Sovereign Pastor! who gavest Thy life for Thy sheep, grant that I may never sacrifice Thy flock to my own ease, convenience, profit, or pleasure ; but that I may employ my time, my substance, my care, my labours, my prayers, for their welfare continually, and thus at least 'give my life for my sheep.'"

BP. WILSON'S *Sacra Privata*.

"He needeth nought of us, true-hearted saint,  
Nor storied stone, nor monumental plaint,  
But much we need of him, while, in his praise  
Shall the memorial live of pure primeval days."

*The Cathedral.*





BISHOP WILSON.

London: Printed by J. Smith, in Strand.

Biography of English Bishops.

---

THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS WILSON, D.D.,

BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.

---

LONDON:

JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,  
AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.

mdcccxliz.



**The Life**  
**OF**  
**THOMAS WILSON, D.D.,**

**BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.**

---

**T**HIS truly apostolic man, to think upon whom with reverence is, as Dr. Johnson observes, to agree with the whole Christian world, was born at Burton, a village in the diocese of Chester, on the vigil of St. Thomas, A.D. 1663. His parents were in humble life, and, to use his own words, "honest and religious"—a blessing for which he praised God in a daily form of thanksgiving. He was baptized a few days after his birth; in reference to which he numbers amongst his "special favours," that he had an early right to the covenant of grace. Of his early childhood nothing is known beyond the fact,

Young Wilson was placed, probably by his uncle, under the care of Mr. Harper, a schoolmaster of some celebrity at Chester; and while at school in this ancient city, he seems occasionally to have heard the excellent and learned Bishop Pearson, in the pulpit of the cathedral over which he presided: of whose preaching he afterwards, in his *Parochialia*, records this anecdote: "that Bishop Pearson often took occasion publicly to bless God that he was born and bred in a family in which God was worshipped daily." Such a recommendation of the practice of family prayer was not likely to be forgotten by him who heard it.

From Chester young Wilson proceeded to the same University, and probably for the same reason, economy, where his uncle had graduated (1633), Trinity College, Dublin, with an allowance of twenty pounds a year—a sum which, however insignificant when compared with the extravagant sums now too often squandered away by young men in similar situations, was then considered to be sufficient for the necessary expenditure of a laborious, self-denying student. On entering the University, it was his intention to have made medicine his profession; and for some time he diligently studied that useful science. Accidentally, however, as men would say, though no doubt providentially, he be-

came acquainted with Mr. Michael Hewetson, one of the prebendaries of St. Patrick's, and Archdeacon of Kildare. This worthy clergyman, whose friendship was no ordinary blessing, having soon discovered in his young friend those qualities of mind and heart which peculiarly adorn the pastoral office, persuaded him to abandon his intention of graduating in physic, and to prepare himself for receiving holy orders. He did so; and on St. Peter's Day, 1686, the day of the consecration of the cathedral of that diocese, he was ordained deacon by Dr. Moreton, Bishop of Kildare. The impressive prayer which he composed on this solemn occasion sufficiently testifies the becoming sense which he had of the sacredness of that responsible office, and how earnestly he implored divine aid for its fulfilment: "Give me, O Lord God, I humbly beg, a wise, a sober, a patient, an understanding, a devout, a religious, a courageous heart; that I may instruct the ignorant, reclaim the vicious, bear with the infirmities of the weak, comfort the afflicted, confirm the strong; that I may be an example of true piety and sincere religion; that I may constantly speak the truth, boldly rebuke vice, and cheerfully suffer for righteousness' sake." The whole of this prayer, of which the above is only a small portion, was inserted by Wilson in a memorandum-book presented to him



by Archdeacon Hewetson on the day of ordination; the proceedings of which had been written by the worthy donor at the beginning of the book, under the following title: "Mich. Hewetson's memorandums concerning the consecration of the church of Kildare, and the ordination of his dear friend Thos. Wilson, with some advices thereupon." From these memoranda, we find that the silver paten used at the celebration of the Holy Communion on this occasion was the joint offering of the young deacon and his friend; on the inside of which was a Latin inscription to this effect: "Sacred to God, and to the altar of the church of St. Bridget of Kildare." The monogram I. H. S. is in the middle; and on the reverse, in small letters, was engraved: "From the united devotion of two very dear friends, Michael Hewetson and Thomas Wilson: the former a presbyter and prebendary of the cathedral-church of St. Patrick, Dublin; the latter solemnly admitted to the sacred order of deacon on the day of the consecration of this church, viz. the festival of St. Peter, 1686." This little incident is only an exemplification of that spirit of self-denial, for the sake of the Church he served, which animated every action of Wilson's future career. The good archdeacon's memoranda are still more valuable, as containing the excellent advice which he gave to his young friend

in reference to his ministerial vocation: "M. H. advises his dear T. W., now entered into holy orders, to resolve to proceed in them, and to endeavour to render himself worthy of them; and to that end always to keep in mind the discourse we had the Sunday before he was ordained, when we together read over and considered the canons of both Churches, the thirty-nine articles, and the office of ordination. That he would be careful to read over the said office, the thirty-nine articles, and as many of the canons as are requisite for him to be acquainted with, at least once every year; and that he would frequently peruse and consider all the rubrics on the liturgy while he is deacon, to the intent (as the Church prudently advises in a rubric at the end of that office) he may be perfect, as well as expert in the things pertaining to the ecclesiastical administration.

"That when he is licensed and qualified for performing any part of his ministerial function, he strictly observes the laws of the holy Church; nor ever deviates from the rubric, except when he is commanded so to do, or is dispensed with by his ordinary, if it lies in the power of any ordinary<sup>1</sup> to contradict or dispense with what is established.

<sup>1</sup> The archdeacon obviously alludes to the following provision in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer concerning the service

blished either by acts of parliament or canons. He is further advised to observe the Church's festivals and fasting-days, as far and as well as he possibly can, and as his health (I mean, as to the latter) will bear. And it upon every Sunday and holyday he read the proper collect, epistle, and gospel privately before he goes to church, and one chapter in the 'Whole Duty of Man' every Sunday, he would, in so doing, imitate the practice of his dear friend.

"To say the morning and evening prayer, either publicly or privately, every day is, he knows, the Church's express commands in one of the rubrics before the calendar. And if, besides, he used private devotions at least twice a day, and read every day one chapter in the English Bible to choose, that he may be well acquainted with the letter of the text, he will do a thing in itself pious, to himself profitable, and will herein too comply with the usage of his dearest friend. Never to miss the Church's public devotions twice a day, when unavoidable business, want of health, or of a church, as in travelling, does not hinder.

of the Church: "Forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same .... the parties that so doubt shall alway resort to the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quoting and appearing of the same; so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this book."

In church to behave himself always very reverently, nor ever turn his back upon the altar in service-time, nor on the minister when it can be avoided; to stand at the lessons and epistles, as well as at the gospel, and especially when a psalm is sung; to bow reverently at the name of Jesus, whenever it is mentioned in any of the Church's offices;<sup>1</sup> to turn towards the east when the Gloria Patri and the creeds are rehearsing; and to make obeisance at coming into and going out of the church, and at going up to and coming down from the altar—are all ancient, commendable, and devout usages,<sup>2</sup> and which thousands of good people of our Church practise at this day, and amongst them, if he deserves to be reckoned amongst them, T. W.'s dear friend.

"When he has a cure of souls, T. W. is earnestly desired to celebrate a communion as often as he can get a convenient number to communicate with him; and to urge his people to the frequent

<sup>1</sup> See Canon xviii.

<sup>2</sup> "We think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."—*Canon vii.* 1640. See "Life of Bp. Andrewes," p. 85.

entered into a number of serious resolutions, "to which I think fit," he writes, "to oblige myself in the beginning of my days, that I may not be tempted by any worldly advantage to sin against God—do violence to my conscience—scandalize that holy profession of the ministry to which it has pleased God to call me—nor bring a curse upon what it shall please him to put in my hands." These resolutions were never to obtain a living by bribe, gift, or purchase; never to hold a living under a bond of resignation; never to hold two livings at once, and thus be non-resident;—resolutions which, as they were not only entered into, but kept under frequent temptations to the contrary conduct, abundantly prove that from his youngest years, not his own interest, but the glory of God and the good of the Church were the animating principles of all his actions.

God's blessing, even in the visible token of worldly prosperity, is seldom long in testifying His approbation of conduct like this. And so it was here. In 1692, the Earl of Derby, having noticed Mr. Wilson's exemplary conduct as a parish-priest, made him his domestic chaplain, and at the same time appointed him tutor to his son, Lord Strange. He was also soon after elected master of the almshouse at Latham. Having now, by these several appointments, received an addition of fifty pounds

to his former income, he made a corresponding increase in his charitable donations. In a memorandum made on Easter-day, 1693, he observes, "It having pleased God, of his mere bounty and goodness, to bless me with a temporal income far above my hopes or deserts [an income, the reader should remember, not amounting to more than what is received by many an artisan in our manufacturing towns], I have hitherto given but one tenth part of my income to the poor; I do therefore purpose, and I thank God for putting it into my heart, that of all the profits which it shall please God to give me, and which shall become due to me after the sixth of August next (after which time I hope to have paid my small debts), I do purpose to separate the fifth part of all my incomes, as I shall receive them, for pious uses, and particularly for the poor." Nor did he leave the division of this portion of his goods to memory; for he had a method of managing his little revenues which it would be well if others would imitate. Indeed, however minds great in their own estimation may despise such methodical arrangement, it is only when we live by rule that we live well. Whenever he received any money, he regularly placed the portion designed for charitable purposes in a drawer, with a note of its amount affixed, that thus it might be kept sacred for the

holy purposes intended. Into this depository, appropriately called the "*poor man's drawer*,"—a drawer which it is to be wished were in every house in England,—at first a tenth, then a fifth, then a third, and at last the half of his revenues were placed! And so sacred did he deem everything connected with this matter, that he never even deposited these sums in his drawer, without devoutly using that solemn prayer at setting aside alms for the poor which is still found in his writings: thus, by his whole conduct in the matter, confessing, as it were, his faith in the universal testimony, both of the Scriptures and of the Church, that money given to the poor is not so much a gift to man as an offering to Almighty God himself,—an offering, too, be it remembered, never sincerely made in vain; "merciful almsgiving," as the homily on this important Christian duty most scripturally observes, "being profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin." And to use Bishop Wilson's own words, "By fasting, by alms, and by prayers, we dedicate our bodies, goods, and souls to God in a particular manner."

Unassuming, or rather diffident, as Mr. Wilson's disposition is known to have been, he had now an opportunity of showing that a pious man is no coward, and that moral courage—the highest of all

courage—is the legitimate characteristic of Christian meekness. The office of a chaplain, he wrote many years after, and perhaps this incident may have suggested the reflection, “is an employment that requires as much Christian courage to discharge it faithfully as any state of life whatever.” Lord Derby, indulging in those excesses for which rank and fortune too readily supply the means, had, by his continued extravagance, brought his affairs to such an embarrassed state as to be unable to meet the demands of his numerous creditors. Regard for his patron’s honour, and sympathy for the dependents who were suffering from his prodigality, induced Mr. Wilson respectfully, but strongly, to remonstrate with his lordship on the wickedness of thus defrauding—for it was nothing less—and injuring others. After earnest prayer to God for “that zeal and courage becoming his profession,” and numerous pious reflections upon the probable consequences of such a course—his patron’s disfavour, and his own embarrassment—he addressed his lordship in such an ingenuous strain of affectionate rebuke as to urge him to immediate reformation. In taking this step, he may probably have acted upon the advice and example of his uncle, who adopted the same course towards Sir Richard Bindlosse, to whom he was chaplain.



“MY LORD,

“Nothing but a sense of duty and gratitude could have put me upon taking such a liberty as this, which, because I have reason to believe concerns your lordship, I can willingly hazard all the future favours your lordship designs me rather than be unconcerned and silent in a matter of this moment, though I have no reason to fear such a consequence. I do therefore, with all imaginable submission, offer these following particulars, touching your creditors, to your lordship’s consideration.

“First: Though several debts, as your lordship urges, may be unjust, and perhaps most of the bills in part unreasonable; yet it is very probable that a great many are really just, and if these are not paid, those who suffer have a just complaint to God and man, which must certainly have a very ill influence upon your lordship’s affairs.

“Secondly: That several in the neighbourhood are undone if they are not speedily considered; they are forced to the last necessity, some to sell their estates, and others ready to leave the country, or to lie in gaol, for debts which are owing to them from your lordship. They come every day with tears and petitions, which nobody takes notice of, and so your lordship never comes to know what they suffer and complain of.

"Thirdly: Your lordship sees what methods the rest, who are more able, are taking, and you know best what may be the consequence of what they are doing; but however it ends, if their demands are just, they will still have reason to complain of the wrong that is done them.

"Fourthly: Your lordship is never suffered to know what influence these things have upon your temporal affairs; but I am ready to make it out, whenever your lordship shall think it your interest to inquire into this matter, that you pay constantly one-third more for what you want than any other person. I know very few care or are concerned at this; but I am one of those who cannot but see and lament this hardship and misfortune, which cannot possibly be remedied till your lordship has taken some order with your creditors, and reformed those who shall have the disposal of your monies for the time to come.

"Fifthly: I am not able to foresee how these things will end, and one cannot tell what they may be forced to attempt. It is too likely that, if any disturbance should happen in the government, their wants may make them desparate, and their numbers insolent. I have been lately told that some of them have secretly threatened some such thing.

"And now, my Lord, if I have said anything

unbecoming me, I hope your lordship will pardon me, and believe it a fault of indiscretion rather than design. I mean honestly; and, that your lordship may think so, I do protest, in the presence of God, that I had rather beg all my life than to be so far wanting to myself, and that duty which I owe to God and your lordship, as not to have given your lordship these short hints, by word of mouth and writing, which your lordship could not possibly have but from some faithful servant, as I presume to subscribe myself, and, my Lord, your most dutiful chaplain.

“T. W.”

“Oct. 22, 1696.”

That Lord Derby put a proper value upon this truly Christian counsel is evident from the fact that, in the following year (1697), he offered Mr. Wilson the vacant bishopric of Sodor and Man, the nomination to which, as lord of the island, he possessed. Like many other holy men, however, under similar circumstances, he modestly refused this offer, professing himself utterly unworthy of so high and responsible a position in Christ's Church. “It will be work enough,” he remarks, “for every man to give an account for himself; but to stand charged, and to be account-

able for many others, who can think of it without trembling?" In this refusal he would probably have continued inflexible had not King William interfered—one of the few instances of his interference which proved serviceable to the Church—by informing Lord Derby, that unless he presented immediately, he should nominate to the vacant see himself. After the earl's further entreaties, therefore, Mr. Wilson at last consented, or, to use his own words, "was forced into a bishopric." He was created Doctor in Divinity by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and on the 16th January, 1697-8, was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man by Archbishop Sharp, assisted by the Bishops of Chester and Norwich. In the beginning of April following he landed at Derby Haven in the Isle of Man, and on the 11th he was enthroned in the cathedral of St. Germain's, in Peel Castle.

The island has had many masters, whose history in early times is partly fabulous. It is certain, however, that the Norwegians conquered it when they made themselves masters of the Western Isles, which they sent kings to govern, who generally chose the Isle of Man for their residence. This regimen continued till the year 1266, when an agreement was entered into by

Magnus IV. of Norway, and Alexander III. of Scotland, whereby the island was surrendered to the Scots for four thousand marks, to be paid in four years, one thousand marks yearly; and it became united to the crown of Scotland in the year 1270. It afterwards came into possession of the English, and Henry IV. granted it to the family of the Stanleys, afterwards Earls of Derby, in whose possession it continued, except during the great rebellion, till the year 1739.

The island is said to have been converted to Christianity, by St. Patrick, about the year 440, at which time the Bishopric of Man was created; St. Germain, to whose name and memory the cathedral church is dedicated, being the first Bishop of Man. It was about the eleventh century that the *Insule Sodorenses*, thirty-two in number, and receiving their name from the Bishopric of Sodor being erected in one of them, viz. the Isle of Sky, were united to Man. From that period the bishops of the united sees were styled the Bishops of Sodor and Man, and sometimes *Man et Insularum*; and they had the Archbishop of Drontheim (*Nidorensis*) for their metropolitan. When the island became annexed to the crown of England, *Man* had its own bishops again, who described themselves sometimes as Bishops of Man only, sometimes *Sodor and Man*,

and sometimes *Sodor de Man*; the name of Sodor having been given to a small island lying within a short distance of the mainland, called by the Norwegians *Holm*, and by the inhabitants Peel, in which stands the cathedral.

The inhabitants of the island, numbering about 15,000, were an orderly civilized people, having a profound respect for their lords, zealous of their ancient laws, tenures, and liberties, charitable to the poor, hospitable to strangers, and such haters of sacrilege that they did not think a greater curse could fall upon a family than that expressed in these words: "May a stone of the Church be found in the corner of thy dwelling-house."

Such, almost in his own words,<sup>1</sup> was the state of the island at the time when its shores were blessed by the approach of Bishop Wilson. Of course, in many respects, especially in its civil constitution, and in the number of its inhabitants, it is now much changed. It has also felt the usual effects of commercial enterprise, ultra-civilization, and its attendant luxuries. But to return to the subject of this memoir.

In nothing is the Christian character more truly manifested than in the practice of imploring the Divine blessing upon any undertaking in

<sup>1</sup> See his *History of the Isle of Man*.

which we are about to be engaged. It is a proof of our submission to God's will, and of the sense of our own inability to do our duty without His special grace directing us. Such was Bishop Wilson's constant habit, besides his three hours of prayer, morning, noon, and evening, daily. Never did he begin any business before he had first implored God's blessing upon it. It is not surprising, therefore, that when he found himself called to so high an office in His Church, that he should, with more than ordinary earnestness, seek aid for its effectual performance. Knowing how many holy men of old, while contemplating its responsibility and awfulness, had shrunk from accepting the episcopate, he was not likely to enter upon such a function without much of self-examination and of prayer. Such was the fact. The prayer, offered on the occasion of his being enthroned in the cathedral of St. Germain's, is preserved in his writings. And his well-known *Sacra Privata* contain nothing more than prayer and meditation upon "the duties of a bishop, the state of life to which it has pleased God to call me." To use his own expressive words, these duties—

"By the laws of God and the Church, are to

---

instruct the people committed to his charge out of the holy Scriptures; and to teach, or maintain, no doctrine but what may be proved from thence.

“To exercise himself in those holy Scriptures; to call upon God for the true understanding of the same.<sup>1</sup>

“To use all faithful diligence in driving away all doctrines contrary to God’s word, and to encourage others so to do.

“To deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live a sober, righteous, and godly life, so as to be an example unto others.<sup>2</sup>

“To maintain and set forward, as much as may be, quietness, love, and peace among all men; and to correct and punish the unruly, criminous, and disobedient, as far as God’s word and the laws of the land do require and will warrant.

“To be faithful in ordaining, sending, or laying hands upon others.

“To be gentle and merciful, for Christ’s sake, to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help.”

<sup>1</sup> “To understand the holy Scriptures aright is to understand them as the primitive Church did.”—*Sacra Privata*.

<sup>2</sup> “No man can teach well who does not live well.”—*Sacra Privata*.



One of these seven heads of duty forms a subject of divine contemplation for each day of the week, and the whole of them comprise, as before observed, the bishop's *Sacra Privata*,—those devotional exercises, which, or the like of which, were the groundwork of whatever name and influence he has attained in the Church of God. These exercises, while edifying on their own account, are valuable also as forming a model of which good judges have pronounced to be the best form in which serious persons may keep a record of their own spiritual state; in that prayers against particular failings, such as are here found, at once suggest to the framer what his failings are and have been, and yet are secure, as being prayers, from the various dangers to which the direct enlarging upon failings, without the immediate thought of God's presence, is likely to lead.<sup>1</sup>

On entering his diocese he found the episcopal residence in ruins. His first effort, therefore, was to make it suitable to his position in the island;—"if not stately, yet convenient enough," for the exercise of that hospitality which is not among the least important duties of the bishop's office; and this he ever continued to do most generously both to the clergy and laity, setting them an example herein worthy of universal imitation.

<sup>1</sup> See preface to Oxford edition of *Sacra Privata*.

When it is remembered that the proceeds of his bishopric did not exceed three hundred pounds a year—an income which, small as it was, he refused to increase by holding the living of Badsworth, near Pontefract, *in commendam* offered to him by the Earl of Derby—it need scarcely be said that anything like expensive entertainments was as much beyond his means as his inclination. His admirable maxim was, “Hospitality does not consist in keeping a plentiful table, and making great entertainments; but in providing a sober and suitable refreshment for such as are in want, and for such as come to visit us.” Perhaps in no age more than our own is the necessity greater for urging the observance of such a maxim; the vulgar vanity which persons, even in the middling classes, display in what they consider to be entertaining their friends being one of the saddest signs of the times.

After having rebuilt the episcopal residence at his own cost, the bishop, availing himself of that liberty which the English Church, after the example of primitive antiquity, wisely allows her ministers as regards holy matrimony, revisited England for the purpose of being united to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Patten, Esq., whom he married on the 27th of October, 1698, at Winwick

Church, the scene of his former ministry.<sup>1</sup> The bishop remained in England till the April following, when he returned to his diocese, taking with him a wife exactly suited to him—pious, devout, and charitable. The following prayer from his diary is too indicative of the holy and tranquil life which they led to be passed over unnoticed:—

“ T. } Wilson. { To be said every morning together  
M. } { before we stir abroad.

“ O God, by whose favour and providence we are made one flesh, look mercifully upon us from heaven, and bless us, and make us instrumental to the eternal welfare of each other. Give us grace that we may faithfully perform our marriage-vows, that we may live in perfect love and peace together, in a conscientious obedience to Thy laws, and in a comfortable prospect of happiness all our days. Grant, if it be Thy gracious will, that we may live to see our children Christianly and virtuously brought up; or if in Thy wisdom Thou shalt order

<sup>1</sup> The marriage is thus entered in the Register of the Parish Church of Winwick:—

“ 1698.

“ October 27.

“ The Reverend Father in God Thomas Wilson, Lord Bishop of Man, and Madam Mary Patten of Warrington, by Licence.”

it otherwise, be pleased in mercy to provide for their everlasting happiness. In the meantime give us grace that we may teach them and our household the fear of God, and be examples to them of piety and true religion. Continue to us such a share of the good things of this world as to Thee seems most meet for us; and whatever our condition shall be, enable us to be content and thankful. Vouchsafe us a share in the happiness of the next life; and Thy blessed will be done for what shall happen to us in this. Hear us, O God, for Jesus Christ His sake, the Son of Thy love. Amen. Amen."

How great must have been the domestic peace of those who daily, as they knelt down together, offered such a prayer as this! Well might Tertullian exclaim, "Who can tell the happiness of that marriage which the Church makes, the oblation confirms, and the blessing seals!"

His care and conduct in the Church of God appeared in the order and piety of his own family. "O heavenly Lord and Master, bless us, and take us under Thy gracious protection; make us an household fearing God, and examples to others of order, diligence, faithfulness, and piety." This was his daily prayer. Divine service was solemnized morning and evening in his private chapel. The

manner in which he treated his domestics might be inferred from the light in which he viewed the relation between master and servant. To use his own impressive words, "Death in a very little time will make the master and servant equal. Let us anticipate this equality by treating our servants with compassion; having respect to Christ in the person of our servant—to Christ who took upon Himself the form of a servant for our sakes." In one of his prayers he thanks God for having put it into his power "to be kind to his servants." In testimony of a faithful servant's integrity, he caused a handsome stone to be placed at the head of his grave, with a suitable inscription from his own pen.

While thus ruling the Church in his own house, he was indefatigable in the discharge of his public duties. He never failed to join in the celebration of divine service in some of the churches of his diocese every Sunday. In the discharge of these sacred duties he thoroughly carried out his own excellent maxim, "To do holy things after an holy manner." The private prayers which he offered before and during the celebration of the Lord's Supper could only have proceeded from one who had a due sense of the dignity of that holy mystery, as well as becoming

---

reverence for those primitive times in which similar prayers were used. Before the service began, he prayed thus : " May it please Thee, O God, who hast called us to this ministry, to make us worthy to offer unto Thee this sacrifice for our own sins, and for the sins of this people. Accept our service and our persons, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen. O reject not this people for me and for my sins."

Upon placing the alms upon the altar, he said, " All that we possess is the effect of Thy bounty, O God; and of Thy own do we give Thee. Pardon all our vain expenses; and accept of this testimony of our gratitude to Thee our Benefactor, for the Lord Jesus' sake."

His prayer upon placing the elements upon the altar was as follows : " Vouchsafe to receive these Thy creatures from the hands of us sinners, O Thou self-sufficient God."

Immediately after the consecration, he prayed, " We offer unto Thee, our King and our God, this Bread and this Cup. We give Thee thanks for these and for all Thy mercies; beseeching Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ,

and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ;<sup>1</sup> and that all we, who are partakers thereof, may thereby obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion.

“ And, together with us, remember, O God, for good, the whole mystical body of Thy Son; that such as are yet alive may finish their course with joy; and that we, with all such as are dead in the Lord, may rest in hope and rise in glory, for Thy Son’s sake, whose death we now commemorate. Amen.

“ May I atone unto Thee, O God, by offering to Thee the pure and unbloody sacrifice, which Thou hast ordained by Jesus Christ. Amen.

“ But how should I dare to offer Thee this sacrifice, if I had not first offered myself a sacrifice to Thee, my God.

“ May I never offer the prayers of the faithful with polluted lips, nor distribute the bread of life with unclean hands.

“ I acknowledge and receive Thee, O Jesus, as sent of God, a Prophet, to make His will known to us, and His merciful purpose to save us; as our

<sup>1</sup> He recommends the lay communicants to offer secretly a similar petition immediately after the priest has said the Prayer of Consecration. See “A Short Introduction to the True Understanding of the Lord’s Supper.”

Priest, who offered Himself an acceptable sacrifice for us, to satisfy the Divine justice, and to make intercession for us; and as our King, to rule and defend us against all our enemies.

“ May I always receive the holy sacrament in the same meaning, intention, and blessed effect with which Jesus Christ administered it to His apostles in His Last Supper.”

In conformity with his opinion that “ a strict examination into the learning, lives, and characters of such as are designed for holy orders is a matter of infinite and eternal concern,<sup>1</sup> he received them into his house a year before ordination; that by thus having frequent intercourse with them in conversation, study, and prayer, he might be the better able to make choice of fit persons to serve God in the sacred ministry of His Church. The practice of his excellent uncle, who was accustomed to receive candidates for holy orders into his house at Winwick, may have suggested this plan.

For the use of these candidates it was that he drew up “ A Catechetical Instruction” and “ Instructions for an Academic Youth,” both of which are full of information and counsel which the young of all conditions may profitably follow. In the first place he writes, when addressing the academic

<sup>1</sup> See *Sacra Privata*. Friday Meditations on Ordination.



youth, "Lay this down for a certain truth, that without God's especial blessing, your best purposes and all your endeavours will come to nothing. 'We have toiled all night and have taken nothing' will be found true by every body who will be making experiments how far their own natural parts will carry them without the aid of God's good Spirit." He recommends to them as books of piety and devotion, "The Whole Duty of Man;" Mr. Law on "Christian Perfection," one of the best books that has appeared in this age; and Scougal's "Life of God in the Soul of Man." To the youths designed for the ministry, he advised to read and abridge at their spare hours every week some of the best practical sermons they can meet with, amongst which he specifies those of Bishop Bull, in order to give them an early taste for divinity, to form their style, improve their knowledge in such studies as are to be the business of their life, furnish them with proper expressions, and, above all, to fill their minds with saving truths. The sermons here recommended to be abridged were to be practical. "I say practical," he remarks, and the observation is one of sound wisdom; "for if you will take my advice, you should not read any one book of controversy until you shall be in full orders, except such only as are necessary to explain the Thirty-

---

nine Articles of religion. If you know the truth, you will easily see what is contrary to it, according to the old rule, *Regula est regula recti et obliqui*.

Nor was he less anxious to promote among the clergy themselves that uniformity of action and sentiment without which little good can be effected in their ministrations. "Faction and party names among brethren," he observes, in one of his episcopal charges, "are hateful to God and man." As a guide in their duties he wrote "*Parochialia; or Instructions for the Clergy*" (1708); in which may be found much valuable assistance in the discharge of a clergyman's most important duties, viz., in dealing with young Christians in order to fit them for confirmation;<sup>1</sup> in instructing such as have been confirmed, in order to prepare them for the Lord's Supper. It also contains excellent advice concerning family prayer; an admonition proper for parents; instructions proper for young people; advice to men of estates concerning the poor; to persons in affliction; exhortations proper for servants; the method of dealing with formal Christians and with habitual evil livers; necessary instructions for such as are under the censures of the Church; concluding with a discourse of visiting the sick, in which the bishop urges the import-

<sup>1</sup> See Sermon lxxxi.

ance of confession and absolution, enforcing the latter in the words of Bishop Andrewes: "It is not said by Christ, 'Whose sins ye wish and pray for, or declare to be remitted,' but 'Whose sins ye remit;' to which He addeth a promise that He will make it good, and that His power shall accompany the power He has given them, and the lawful execution of it in His Church for ever."

In his numberless exhortations to the clergy he usually dwells upon the responsibility and obligation of their office; but in the following passage, which occurs twice in his writings, he connects a faithful discharge of it with their own spiritual improvement. Notwithstanding good George Herbert's truthful saying, that "The country parson is usually sad," there is something in this extract which must cheer the faithful pastor's heart amid the most lonely and disheartening labours.

"It is happy for a minister of God that the life he is to lead, and the very outward acts he has vowed to perform, will help to change his heart and create in him those dispositions which will make him like his Great Master.

"For instance, he has solemnly promised to read the holy Scriptures daily; he will therefore have daily before his eyes the precepts, the instructions,

---

the example of Christ, the rewards and punishments of the life to come.

“He is obliged to catechise; and the more careful he is to instruct others, the more effectually he will learn himself how far we are fallen from God, and what pains we must take to be restored to the image and favour of God.

“He has promised to lead a holy and exemplary life. If he does not do this sincerely, he will be the scorn of men now, and of devils hereafter.

“It will be impossible to converse with poor and needy people, and to seek out for help for them, without partaking of the spirit and compassion of the blessed Jesus, who laid down His life for them.

“If he is careful to read divine service distinctly, with deliberation and gravity, it will beget devotion in himself, as well as in those that hear him.

“If His sermons be plain and practical, they will affect his own heart, as well as the hearts of those he preaches to.

“Every child he baptizes puts him in mind of the vows that are upon himself.

“And he cannot administer the other sacrament as he ought to do, but it must needs fill his soul with a thousand holy ideas and devout thoughts; with a holy fear lest he should offer the prayers of the faithful with polluted lips, or distribute the bread

of life with unclean hands; with an ardent love for Jesus Christ, whose life and death he commemorates; with a perfect charity for all the world for whom He died. And the oftener he administers this sacrament, the more he will find his graces increased.

“In visiting sick and dying persons, he will be put in mind of his own mortality; and in fitting them as he ought to do for the account they are going to give, he will be put in mind of the much greater he is himself to give.

“When he exhorts, reproves, admonishes others, it will bring to his mind the words of the apostle, ‘Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?’

“When he calls to mind that he has promised all faithful diligence, &c., he will give himself wholly to these things, and will be ashamed to be found wholly taken up with business which no way relates to the salvation of souls.

“If he be diligent in prayer, which he promised to be, God will certainly enlighten his mind with saving truth and grace.

“In short, if he has an ardent desire to save souls, and really strives to do it as effectually as he can, he will be beloved of God, assisted by His Spirit; he will see the fruit of his labours; he will secure

---

his own peace and hope, and will give an account with joy when His Lord calls for him."

But the bishop well knew that the laity, as well as the clergy, have a place and duties in the Christian Church. Hence, in making a quarterly visitation of his diocese, he carried out the original intention of that office, by inquiring into the behaviour and condition of the laity of the respective parishes. He also impressed upon them the duty of obeying their spiritual guides in all things lawful and honest.<sup>1</sup> Under the conviction that as discipline slackened men's manners grew more and more corrupt, even in primitive times, and having no notion of discipline being impracticable,<sup>2</sup> it was his grand aim to restore and preserve it in his own diocese. He therefore drew up a body of canons bearing equally upon laity and clergy, which were adopted by convocation and approved by the civil authorities. As this code contains

<sup>1</sup> Sermons lxxxviii. lxxxix. xc. xcvi.

<sup>2</sup> "Discipline impracticable! This cannot be, when it was practised for so many years in the primitive Church. And what if it be one of those things which Christ has commanded his followers to observe so strictly [Matt. xxviii. 19, 20], and which He had learned of the Father! [John xv. 15; xvi. 13]. The commands of Christ cannot be impracticable. That would be to tax him with ignorance or weakness."—*Sacra Privata*. Thursday Meditations.

the principles of his episcopal government, no memoir of Bishop Wilson can be considered complete without it.

### ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

#### INSULA MANSIS.

“At a Convocation of the Clergy at Bishop’s Court, the 3rd day of February, 1703.

“In the name of our great Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the glory and increase of his kingdom amongst men.

“We, the bishop, archdeacon, vicars-general, and clergy of this isle, who do subscribe these articles, that we may not stand charged with the scandals which wicked men bring upon religion, while they are admitted to, and reputed members of, Christ’s Church; and that we may by all laudable means promote the conversion of sinners, and oblige men to submit to the discipline of the Gospel; and, lastly, that we may provide for the instruction of the growing age in Christian learning and good manners: we have formed these following constitutions, which we oblige ourselves (by God’s help) to observe, and to endeavour that all others within our several cures shall comply with the same.

“1. That when a rector, vicar, or curate shall have any number of persons, under twenty, of his

---

parish desirous and fit to be confirmed,<sup>1</sup> he shall give the lord bishop notice thereof, and a list of their names, and shall suffer none to offer themselves to be confirmed but such as he has before instructed to answer in the necessary parts of Christian knowledge, and who, besides their Church Catechism, have learned such short prayers for morning and evening as shall be immediately provided for that purpose.

“II. That no person be admitted to the holy sacrament till he has been first confirmed by the bishop; or (in case of his lordship’s absence or indisposition) to bring a certificate from the the archdeacon, or vicars-general, that he is duly qualified for confirmation.

“III. That no person be admitted to stand as godfather or godmother, or to enter into the holy state of matrimony, till they have received the holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; unless, being an orphan, there be a necessity for his speedy marriage; and this to be approved of, and dispensed

<sup>1</sup> The effect of confirmation is thus clearly stated by the bishop: “It is to convey the inestimable blessing of the Holy Spirit of God by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of God’s minister, that he may dwell in you, and keep you from the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Confirmation is the perfection of baptism.”—*Sacra Privata*. Sunday Meditations.



with, by the ordinary for a limited time, to fit himself for the sacrament; and, where any of them are of another parish, they are to bring a certificate from their proper pastor.

“IV. That all children and servants unconfirmed, of such a division of the parish as the minister shall appoint (which shall be at least one-fourth part thereof), shall constantly come to evening prayers, to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion; at which time every rector, vicar, or curate shall employ at least half an hour in their examination, and explaining some part of the Church Catechism. And that all parents and masters who shall be observed by their children's and servants' ignorance, to be grossly wanting in their duty, in not teaching them this Catechism, shall be presented for every such neglect, and severely punished. And, to the end that this so necessary an institution may be religiously observed, every minister shall always (by the assistance of the churchwardens) keep a catalogue of such persons as are not confirmed, and is hereby required to present those that are absent without urgent cause, who shall be fined two-pence the first Sunday they omit to come, four-pence the second, and six-pence the third; in which case the parents are to be answerable for their children, and masters for their

servants; unless where it appears that the servants themselves are in the fault.

“V. For the more effectual discouragement of vice, if any person shall incur the censures of the Church, and, having done penance, shall afterwards incur the same censures, he shall not be admitted to do penance again (as has been formerly accustomed) until the Church be fully satisfied of his sincere repentance; during which time he shall not presume to come within the church, but be obliged to stand<sup>1</sup> in a decent manner at the church-door every Sunday and Holyday, the whole time of morning and evening service, until by his penitent behaviour, and other instances of sober living, he deserve and procure a certificate from the minister, churchwardens, and some of the soberest men of the parish, to the satisfaction of the ordinary; which if he do not so deserve and procure within three months, the Church shall proceed to excommunication: and that during these proceedings, the governor shall be applied to not to permit him to leave the island.

“And this being a matter of very great import-

<sup>1</sup> In the primitive Church there was a class of penitents called *συγκλαίοντες*, flentes or weepers, who were not allowed to enter the body of the Church, but stood or lay without the gates, sometimes covered with sackcloth and ashes, begging the prayers of the faithful as they passed on.

ance, the minister and churchwardens shall see it duly performed, under penalty of the severest ecclesiastical censures.

“ And whenever any daring offender shall be and continue so obstinate as to incur excommunication, the pastor shall affectionately exhort his parishioners not to converse with him, upon peril of being partaker with him in his sin and punishment.

“ VI. That the rubrick before the Communion, concerning unworthy receivers thereof, may be religiously observed, every rector, vicar, or curate shall, first privately, and then publicly, admonish such persons as he shall observe to be disorderly livers; that such as will not by this means be reclaimed may be hindered from coming to the Lord's Table, and being presented may be excommunicated.

“ And if any minister knowingly admit such persons to the holy sacrament, whose lives are blemished with the vices of drunkenness, tippling, swearing, profaning the Lord's-day, quarrelling, fornication, or any other crime by which the Christian religion is dishonoured, before such persons have publicly acknowledged their faults, and solemnly promised amendment, the minister so offending shall be liable to severe ecclesiastical censures.

“VII. If any moar [bailiff], sergeant, proctor, or any other person, shall presume on the Lord's-day to receive any rent or sums of money, both he and the person paying such rent or sums of money shall be liable to ecclesiastical censure, and shall always be presented for the same.

“VIII. That the practice of commutation as has been formerly accustomed, namely, of exempting persons obnoxious to the censures of the Church from penance, and other punishment, appointed by law, on account of paying a sum of money, or doing some charitable work, shall for the future cease.

“IX. For the promotion of religion, learning, and good manners, all persons shall be obliged to send their children, as soon as they are capable of receiving instruction, to some petty school, and to continue them there until the said children can read English distinctly, unless the parents give a just cause to excuse themselves, approved of by the ordinary in open court; and that such persons, who shall neglect sending their children to be so taught, shall (upon a presentment made thereof by the minister, churchwardens, or chapter-quest) be fined one shilling per quarter to the use of the schoolmaster, who may refuse to teach those children who do not come constantly to school (unless

for such cause as shall be approved of by the minister of the parish), and their parents shall be fined as if they did altogether refuse to send them to school.

“And for the future encouragement of the schoolmasters, they shall respectively receive, over and above the salaries already allowed them, six-pence quarterly from the parents of every child that shall be taught by them to read English, and nine-pence quarterly from such as shall be taught to write; which sums being refused, the sumner shall be ordered to require punctual payment within fourteen days; and upon default thereof, they are to be committed till they submit to law. Notwithstanding, where the parents or relations are poor, and not able to pay as aforesaid, and this be certified by the minister and churchwardens of the parish to the ordinary, such children are to be taught gratis.

“And whereas some of the poorer sort may have just cause, and their necessities require it, to keep their children at home for several weeks in the summer and harvest; such person shall not be liable to the penalties aforesaid, provided they do (and are hereby strictly required to) send such children, during such absence from school, every third Sunday to the parish church, at least one

---

hour before evening service, there to be taught by the schoolmaster, to prevent losing their learning : and if any schoolmaster shall neglect his duty, and complaint be made and proved, he shall be discharged, and another placed in his stead at the discretion of the ordinary : and every rector, vicar, or curate shall the first week of every quarter visit the petty school, and take an account in a book of the improvement of every child, to be produced as often as the ordinary shall call for it.

“ X. For the more effectual suppression of vice, &c., the ministers, and churchwardens, and chapter-quest shall, the last Sunday of every month, after evening prayers, set down in writing the names of all such persons as without just cause absent themselves from church ; of parents, masters, and mistresses who neglect to send their children and servants to be catechised ; of parents and guardians who send not their children to school ; and all other matters they are bound by their oaths to present. And that they may conscientiously discharge their duty, the Articles of Visitation are to be read to them at every such meeting ; and this is to be done under pain of the severest ecclesiastical censures.

“ Now, forasmuch as some of the orders and constitutions in this Synod agreed unto are such as do require the authority of the civil power to make

them effectual to the ends they are designed, the bishop and archdeacon are earnestly desired to procure confirmation from the lord, his council, and the twenty-four keys, to the glory of God and welfare of this Church.

“ And for the better government of the Church of Christ, for the making of such orders and constitutions as shall from time to time be found wanting, and that better enquiry may be made into the execution of those that are in force, there shall be (God willing) a convocation of the whole clergy of the diocese on Thursday in Whitsun-week every year after this, at the bishop’s chapel, if his lordship be within this isle, or as soon as conveniently after his return.

“ And that by these constitutions we may more effectually oblige ourselves and others, we do each of us subscribe our names, this 3rd day of February, 1703.”

For about twenty years the due observance of these excellent constitutions made the diocese of Man an image of those happy times when the “multitude of them that believed were of one mind, one heart, one soul.” The number of the clergy increased, new churches and schools were built, and the laity became more impressed with a sense of

the privileges and duties of their Christian profession ; so that Lord Chancellor King observed, " if the ancient discipline of the Church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man."

But the quietude of the Church, no less than of individuals, is seldom of long continuance ; for it would seem as if, in either case, suffering were necessary to prevent that indifference and self-confidence which uninterrupted prosperity so generally occasions.

About the year 1720 a spirit of insubordination, and its twin sister infidelity, the natural result of Hoadley's pernicious views, was fearfully prevalent in England ; for the propagation of which the licentiousness of the press was too ready an engine. By this means it was that the country became cursed with an unsound popular literature ; and works of the most demoralising principles were permitted to spread their poison in every direction. It was not long before this moral pestilence reached the happy Isle of Man. The infection was borne in the pages of an infamous publication, called the " Independent Whig," whose detestable principles are thus stated by the bishop in a letter of caution to his clergy : " That the design of the book above mentioned is to undermine the Christian religion appears by the



author's representing all religion as the contrivance of ecclesiastics for their own interest; by his rage and malice against ancient creeds, even that called the Apostles' not excepted; and by his treating all such as have at any time contended for 'the faith once delivered to the saints' as the tools of priests, and as the pests of mankind; by ridiculing the venerable fathers and councils of the primitive Church after the most scandalous manner, and thereby depriving, as much as lies in the power of hell to do it, the Church of Christ of their testimony to the truth, and of the then received sense of the sacred Scriptures; by making a very jest of the ordinances of the Gospel, and prostituting the sacraments ordained by Christ himself to contempt, magnifying those heretics who do avowedly reject them; by making the peace of the Church the bane of society, and unity among Churches, so much required by Jesus Christ, the very cause and badge of slavery; by scoffing at holy orders, and making a blasphemous comparison betwixt the powers conveyed by the apostles to their successors and those given by the attorney-general. . . . In short, the whole book is one continued design, in which the devil and the authors have showed the utmost skill to lay waste the Church of Christ; to overthrow all revealed religion; to reduce men to a state of

---

nature ; and to bring all things into confusion, both sacred and civil."

Such was the baneful tendency of a publication in which we may see too close a resemblance to those of our own times, which are daily being disseminated among us by a depraved popular literature—that literature, as Southey forcibly observes, "which, like a moral atmosphere, is, as it were, the medium of intellectual life, and on the quality of which, according as it may be salubrious or noxious, the health of the public mind depends."<sup>1</sup>

That Bishop Wilson used all the influence of his station to counteract this evil is evident from the energetic appeals which he makes in his charges at this time to his clergy, to co-operate with him in the good cause. For preserving the soundness of the faith, he proposes the following excellent rule, "That we may avoid all novel opinions and new-fangled doctrines contrary to the doctrines we have been taught, let us all keep strictly to the faith delivered and handed down to us from the earliest ages in the creeds. Let us value this sacred deposit as we value our souls, and abhor every thought and every tongue that shall depreciate so great a treasure."

These strenuous efforts, however, of the good

<sup>1</sup> Colloquies, ii. p. 326.

bishop were soon to be frustrated. The governor, Captain Horne, an ignorant and cruel man, who, from his position, might have been expected to aid in denouncing what so obviously aimed at the destruction of the very authority which he himself possessed, became a most violent partisan of the odious principles advocated in the "Independent Whig," and did all in his power to impede the operation of that ecclesiastical discipline which was found so useful in checking them. Personal pique—the origin of most opposition—probably led to this conduct; for the governor's wife having been found guilty of slandering a lady in the island, the bishop commanded her to be refused the Eucharist until she asked forgiveness for the great injury she had done. This raised the governor's resentment; and when his chaplain, Archdeacon Horrobin, had violated the bishop's command by admitting Mrs. Horne to communion, the governor defended the archdeacon against the suspension pronounced upon him for his disobedience. But that the suspension was well founded may be inferred from the opinion this dignitary had expressed on subjects then much controverted. "He has done," to quote the bishop's own words, "what in him lay to involve in endless disputes a church, which, at his coming here, he found in perfect peace and unity. And this he has

done, first, by endeavouring to fix an unjust and groundless reproach upon his brethren of the clergy, as if they had carried the doctrine of absolution so high as to persuade weak minds that they assume to themselves a power of pardoning sins. Secondly, by asserting a direct contradiction to the first exhortation in the communion service, that the absolution of a priest, whether Papist or Protestant, is at the best a false foundation of comfort; which expression being made use of (without any regard had to the fifty-third canon), in opposition to a sermon concerning 'The Power of the Keys,'<sup>1</sup> preached but two Sundays before in the same pulpit, did manifestly tend to render the excellent discipline of this Church contemptible, to encourage offenders to despise her censures, as if public satisfaction and absolution thereupon were not necessary parts of repentance where public wrong hath been given.

" Thirdly, by limiting the words of Christ (John xx. 23), 'Whosoever sins ye remit,' &c. to the apostles only, and affirming that men—uninspired, weak, fallible men—must no more appropriate this to themselves than the power of working miracles, and this in contempt of that very office and the very words by which he received the

<sup>1</sup> Probably Sermon xciii.

order of priesthood;<sup>1</sup> as if the Church asserted a power which she neither understood nor had any right to.

"Fourthly, and in consequence of the foregoing assertions, by affirming that God's ministers have only authority to declare the terms of salvation, and to tell people that if they come up to those terms God will pardon them; and that this, in truth, is all that they can do—a position for which the followers of Socinus stand justly condemned by all orthodox Churches.

"Lastly, by speaking of the controversies in the primitive Church after a very loose and suspicious manner; for not content with calling the disputes about the time of keeping Easter, and the fast preceding it (which fast is strictly and almost universally observed here), a trifling controversy, he immediately added, 'the wrangling jangling disputes about the divinity of our Saviour, the two natures in Christ, the doctrine of the sacred Trinity, heretical baptism, &c., as niceties in religion, which consists not in the knowledge of such things;' expressing himself so as if he designed (for so the evidences [witnesses] understood him) that his

<sup>1</sup> "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained."—*The Ordering of Priests*.

---

hearers should look upon them all of the same importance, namely, as trifling."

Such were the heretical opinions held by one whom the bishop had justly suspended from an office which he so awfully profaned. It was on account of his suspension of such a man that the governor summoned the bishop and his vicars-general to a mock trial, "during which they were treated in the most contemptuous manner imaginable, and for several hours were made to stand like criminals at the bar." The result is well known. The tyrannical governor fined the bishop 50*l.*, and his two officials 20*l.* each, for presuming to exercise the power of suspension; and when they conscientiously refused to pay such an illegal demand, the governor sent a party of soldiers to convey the prelate and his clergy to Castle Rushen (St. Peter's Day, 1722), where they were kept confined for nine weeks, no one being admitted within the walls to see or converse with them.

Although it is a melancholy thing to contemplate so devoted a servant of his Lord thus falling into the hands of wicked men, torn from his family and diocese, and condemned to the privations of a prison, where both his health and fortune received injuries from which they never recovered, it is consoling to reflect how truly God's promises of

protecting those who trust in Him, and of confounding the counsels of the ungodly, were here accomplished. Not only was the governor's iniquitous sentence reversed, and his tyranny justly rebuked by his superiors in England, but Bishop Wilson found his imprisonment the occasion of much spiritual improvement. Thence he addressed pastoral letters to his clergy, scarcely inferior to those of St. Cyprian under somewhat similar circumstances. Here he offered the most earnest of his prayers; here he formed the plan of translating the Scriptures into the Manx language; and here we have his own testimony for asserting that he governed his diocese better than ever he did during his long episcopate. His character, too, as a confessor, and meek and patient sufferer for the truth's sake, hereby acquired its brightest lustre.

"So all God does, if rightly understood,  
Shall work thy final good."

The 31st of August, 1722, the day on which Bishop Wilson was released from his most unjust imprisonment, was a day of rejoicing throughout the island. The crowds, which had before daily thronged his prison in sorrow and despondency, were now assembled to escort their beloved bishop from Castletown to Bishop's-court. So great was their joy, that they would fain have spread their

---

garments along the road through which he passed, had he not checked what might appear an irreverent mode of exultation. From want of better music, pipes of elder-wood were used; bonfires were lighted; and the good prelate returned to his palace amid every demonstration of gratitude and delight.

No sooner did he arrive there than he gave ample proof of the sincerity of his prayer—"that he might receive the contempt and punishment which he had endured as a means of humbling him." And, as if desirous of making amends for those deficiencies which even he had discovered in himself, during his severe self-examination while in prison, he became, if possible, more zealous than ever in the discharge of his important duties.

Finding that a considerable portion of the adult part of the population had become corrupted beyond the hope of recovery, he wisely applied his remedies to the growing age. He well knew that "the child is father of the man," and that if the young were neglected the evils under which his diocese laboured must be perpetuated. By the encouragement and assistance of his worthy friend Dr. Bray, and other benefactors, he established parochial libraries; and by the assistance of that truly Christian gentlewoman, the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, he increased the number of petty schools through-



out the island. These schools were conducted much upon the same plan as that which the bishop himself had founded at Burton, the place of his nativity.<sup>1</sup> At the present time, when so many systems of education for the poor are afloat, it cannot be undesirable to know the qualifications and duties of a schoolmaster selected by Bishop Wilson.

RULES AND ORDERS FOR THE SCHOOL OF BURTON.

“I. It is already provided, by the settlement of the said school, that the master be a member of the Church of England as by law established.

“II. And that he be a man of sober life and conversation, as well as qualified to teach the Latin and English tongues.

“III. He is to observe the school-hours ; namely, to begin at seven in summer and eight in winter ; and to keep the children till eleven in the forenoon, and to be in school again at one in the afternoon ; and to teach till four in the winter, and till five in the summer season.

“IV. He is to read prayers every morning before he begins to teach, and every evening before he dismisseth the children ; viz., the collect for the

<sup>1</sup> The following minute of the fact appears in his memorandum-book: “1724. This year I built a school-house at Burton in Wirral, the place of my nativity, which, together with the land I have improved, has already cost me 379*l.*, makes 25*l.* per annum, besides, &c.”

day, the collect for peace, the collect for grace (as in the morning service of the Church), and the collect in the Post Communion, 'Prevent us, O Lord,' &c., concluding with the Lord's Prayer, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. And at evening the collect for the day, and the two collects for the evening service, concluding as before.

"V. Every evening before they depart the school, the master is to give the children a short charge to be sure they say their prayers before they go to bed and as soon as they rise (such short prayers as he shall teach them), to be dutiful to their parents, civil and respectful to all they meet, to be careful not to tell any manner of lie, nor to take God's name in vain, &c.

"VI. He is to take especial care to make the children sensible of the end of learning, which is that they may be better able to read the holy Scriptures, and therein to learn their duty, to love, to fear, and to serve God acceptably all their days, that they may be happy when they die.

"VII. And, above all things, he is to take all proper occasions to plant the fear of God in their hearts, to make them serious and concerned for their souls, and to awaken them to a sense of the danger they are in without the grace of God and the aids of religion.

“VIII. Every Saturday, before they depart the school, he is to give the children a strict charge to go to church the day following, and to behave themselves with reverence becoming the place, and to get the collect for the day by heart, and remember at least the texts, which will be a way to make them attentive betimes.

“IX. He is to call the children to an account for these things on Monday morning, and to take care that the same be required of them on Church Festivals, if Divine service be read in the church on such days.

“X. The children are to be taught the Church Catechism and no other, and to be made to understand the meaning of it after the most plain and instructive manner.

“XI. The master is not to be absent from school unless upon urgent business; and even then to show the reason of his absence, if required so to do.

“XII. The master is never to grant any whole or half play-day in any week in which there is an holiday.

“Lastly, That the reverend the Vicar of Weston, the Curate of Burton, with the rest of the trustees, shall be desired to visit the school once a year, at the breaking up for Whitsuntide, in order to make

a judgment of the master's diligence and the scholars' improvement."

One of the conditions on which the Lady Elizabeth Hastings left twenty pounds<sup>1</sup> a year towards the maintenance of petty schools in the island is thus stated in the rules adopted at the annual convocation held in Bishop's-court, on Thursday in Whitsun-week, May 29, 1740. The influence which this regulation would have upon the masters in giving a sound Church education must have been great.

"That the masters of the said schools do con-

<sup>1</sup> This bequest is made in the following terms: "To be paid to the Bishop of the Isle of Man, the yearly sum of twenty pounds for the time being, in trust to be by him distributed every year at Easter (and during the vacancy of a bishop, for want of the bishop's direction, by two vicars-general), to such masters of petty schools there as do not receive the royal bounty, who shall produce certificates yearly, under the hands of the vicar or incumbent and churchwardens of their parish, of their diligence in the discharge of their duties, for the use of the petty schools of the said isle hereinafter named (the others being provided for by the royal bounty), namely, the petty schools of Kirk-Michael, Jurby, Legayre, Maughold (the school to be kept near the church), Lonan Ochan, Braddan (the school to be kept near the church), Marown, Santan, Malew, Arbory, Rushen, Patrick, and Jermain (the school to be kept on some convenient spot remote from the town of Peel)." It would be well, for obvious reasons, if Lady Elizabeth Hastings' requirement to build the school near the church were more generally observed.

stantly do their duty, according to the purport of the licences granted by the Bishop of Man, or his substitutes. And that this may be known, every master and mistress shall yearly and every year apply to the vicar or incumbent of their respective parishes (who are by law obliged to visit their schools the first week in every quarter) for a certificate in these words; namely, 'That such vicars or incumbents have respectively visited the said schools in their respective parishes, according to the laws and constitutions of 1703; and that the children have been carefully taught, and do improve in learning and good manners, are taught to say their prayers and catechism, and do duly attend the public service of the church; which certificate is to be signed by such vicar or incumbent. And if such masters or mistresses shall not desire, and obtain, and bring every year to the bishop, or, in his absence, to his vicars-general, such certificate, then the part of this charity appointed for the master or mistress so neglecting to obtain or bring such certificate shall be divided amongst such masters and mistresses as shall bring the same.

"That this charity shall not, upon any pretence whatever, lessen the payment of forty shillings a year to the said schools out of the impropriations, whenever they, or the value of them, shall be restored

---

to the church ; nor shall this charity be understood to excuse such parents, as are able from paying such sums quarterly as the law appoints, or shall be agreed upon betwixt. the master or mistress and parents of such children."

Lady Elizabeth Hastings appears to have communicated to the bishop her intention of making the bequest to which these regulations refer some time before her death, as the following highly characteristic letter of acknowledgment shows :—

" ISLE OF MAN, Oct. 21st, 1737.

" MOST HONOURED LADY,

" I had not the honour of your ladyship's of Sept. 12, till the day before yesterday. I hope this of mine will have a speedier passage, that it may be no detriment to your ladyship's most pious design and charity for this poor place. At the same time that I received your ladyship's letter, and noble intention for the poor schools and children of my diocese, I had a letter from my son, giving me an account that it is by your indefatigable paines, and the kindness of Sir Jo. Jekyll, Master of the Rolles, he has at last got intelligence of the deeds we had given over for lost, which he has found to be enrolled in the records of the Chancery of England; so that we hope when the Earl of Derby,

who has possessed himself of the deeds given in England as counter-security, knows this, he will do us justice, without the expense and difficulty of contending with too powerful an adversary.<sup>1</sup>

“My son as well as I myself are exceedingly obliged to your ladyship for your great concern for his future welfare and settlement in the Church. He tells me that he had an offer very lately made him from his Majesty of a living in the fenny parts of Lincolnshire, which he has been obliged to decline both upon his own and wife’s account—on hers, being of a poor weak constitution; and on his own, having laid himself under obligations to serve a cure of soules himself, and not by a curate, lest, as

<sup>1</sup> This refers to a subject which was the source of deep anxiety to the good bishop. The Earl of Derby having died without issue, the Lordship of Man became the property of the Duke of Athol, who had married the heiress of a late Earl of Derby. Of the impropriations sacrilegiously attached to the barony, one-third had been purchased by a former bishop of the island, Dr. Barrow, whose name and good deeds will be remembered, says Bishop Wilson, as long as any sense of religion remains, as a means of endowing the livings which these impropriations had impoverished. To secure payment, two estates in England belonging to the Earl of Derby had been conveyed. Unfortunately the conveyance deed could not be found, so that the Duke of Athol might have claimed the entire impropriations to himself. But the discovery of the deeds, as alluded to in the above letter, set the matter at rest. Crutwell and more recent biographers seem to be in error in placing this event several years later.

old Bishop Latimer told King Edward VI. in a sermon, 'His chaplains he feared, keeping curates, would go to heaven only by proxy;' which sermon he tells me his grandmother had often read to me. He has made the best apology to the Duke of Newcastle he can. And let what will be the consequence, the motives being laudable, both he and I must be satisfied. Unreasonable pluralities and nonresidence were what I instilled into him the hatred of from his youth, and I am glad he remembers it. [See page 262.]

"Pursuant to your ladyship's most pious intention and directions, I have sent this day a copy of the enclosed to your ladyship's council, Mr Ward, and which I hope will come safe to his hand; and if, in your ladyship's opinion, anything be wanting to make effectual your ladyship's worthy intentions, I beg your ladyship will add it.

"I will not forget your ladyship's requests relating to Mr Wheler. Such instances of humility and piety in this age of infidelity as they are very rare, they are worthy of great regard. I cannot but mention what I once had from the worthy Mr. Finch,<sup>1</sup> who, upon a certain occasion, said, 'I value myself more upon being a priest of the Most

<sup>1</sup> The bishop was married by Mr. Finch, who was his uncle's successor in the Rectory of Winwick.



High God than for being the son of the Earl of Nottingham and the Lord High Chancellor of England.'

"I am abash'd at your ladyship's concern for the health of so worthless a creature as I know myself to be. I bless God I enjoy as good a state of health as I have done this twenty yeares past ; but old age will bring us to our end without many ailments, and, as a penitent criminal under the righteous sentence of death, I hope I shall resign my life a sacrifice of obedience, in union with that of my Saviour's, at what time and manner God pleases—beseeching Him that we may one day meet in paradise in hopes of a blessed resurrection.

"My most humble service to the honourable ladies, your ladyship's sisters ; and if I do not presume too much upon your ladyship's goodness, my kind respects to Mrs. Sarah Hole, if alive and with your ladyship, for whom she had the justest respect and duty. I beg your ladyship will pardon the hurry in which I am obliged to write, or miss this opportunity.

"I am, most honoured lady, your ladyship's most obliged and most humble servant,

"THO. SODOR & MAN."

A person whom Bishop Wilson was able thus

---

highly to commend may be inferred to be no ordinary Christian. And perhaps there is no English-woman who has better exemplified in her practice the teaching of that Church of which her only pride was to be considered a dutiful daughter than this "most honoured lady," whose memory, though dear to all saints, is pre-eminently dear to the Church in the diocese of York. As her very intimate friend, good Robert Nelson, was not afraid to say of her, in the sacred language of Scripture, "Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

Her noble descent is well known; and yet, notwithstanding the allurements of her station, she was in earliest youth remarkable for those virtues of modesty, simplicity, retiredness, self-denial, and prayerfulness, which shone the brighter as she advanced in years. After she took up her abode at Ledstone Hall in Yorkshire, an edifice which, externally, yet retains much of its ancient character, the one great object of her whole being was to promote God's glory and the welfare of her fellow-creatures. "Methinks," says Addison, who describes her under the name of *Aspasia*, "I now see her walking in her garden, like our first parents, with unaffected charms, before beauty had spectators, and bearing celestial conscious virtue in her aspect. Her countenance is the lively picture of

her mind, which is the seat of honour, truth, compassion, knowledge, and innocence.”<sup>1</sup> Her house was open to the hospitable entertainment of all whose worth entitled them to the privilege of her acquaintance. The poor, far off as well as in her own immediate neighbourhood, were the object of her most tender care. “Where,” she would often say to those about her, “is there a poor member of Christ whom I can comfort and refresh?” Her charities, public and private, were scarcely bounded by her means; and her rule was “to give the first place to justice, the second to charity, and the third to generosity.” Some notion may be formed of the economy of her household from the fact that her servants were required to join in devotion four times daily, when portions of the Liturgy were read generally by a clergyman. Yet, amid all her good works, self-abasement was her most conspicuous grace. As her biographer, who knew her well, informs us, “She rated her own righteousness as nothing, by marking well and daily committing to writing all her little slips, and washing them away with tears of repentance; descending to luscious imaginations, even those that happened in her sleep, which was scarce, I think, ever recorded of any saint before; and for the expiation of slips and

<sup>1</sup> Tatler, No. 42. A.D. 1709.

things less than they (besides prostrations and other humiliations and austerities), it is hard to believe that Mary Magdalene in the effusion of tears was more abundant."

Though deceived by the plausible pretensions of the first Methodists, she soon discovered that their object was to corrupt and divide the Church which they professed to purify and strengthen. Hence she vigorously opposed their "excess and wildness," while her sincere devotion to the Church of her baptism is manifest from the constancy with which she frequented her divine services, the reverential regard which she had for many excellent clergymen, and the noble bequests which she made towards ensuring faithful pastors of the parishes under her patronage; and to the Church in general by founding exhibitions for Queen's College, Oxford, for the maintenance, preparatory to receiving holy orders, of five poor scholars, who had been educated in certain schools in Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. These exhibitions were tenable for five years, to take away from the exhibitioners all necessity of entering precipitately into holy orders, and to give them an opportunity of laying, in some sort, a sound foundation of divine as well as human learning. With this view, it was required that, from their first admission into the college, they

should spend one hour every morning in the study of the holy Scriptures, and that the fifth year of their residence at the University should be employed wholly in divinity, Church history, and the apostolical fathers in the original tongues.<sup>1</sup> She further provided that the livings in her patronage, as they became vacant, should be bestowed upon these exhibitioners. Her conscientious notions of discipline could not have been better exemplified than by refusing to receive her viaticum from the hands of any clergymen except her own parish priest, at a time when two clerical friends were constantly in attendance upon her. The last months of her saintly life were marked by excruciating suffering of body, which she not only endured patiently, but rejoiced in. Her death-bed was encompassed by the glories of the unseen world, and this eminent saint and virgin peacefully breathed out her soul to God the day after the Feast of St. Thomas, A.D. 1739, "her heaven commencing ere the world be past," and, to quote from the inscription placed upon her coffin, "A pattern to succeeding ages of all that's good and all that's great."

It was chiefly through the assistance afforded him by this munificent lady that Bishop Wilson established a fund for the support of clergymen's

<sup>1</sup> See codicil of her will quoted in Barnard's Life.

widows and children in the Isle of Man—an institution which saved many worthy families from privations which it is painful to contemplate. To this fund the bishop himself contributed 100%.

As a little relaxation from his many labours, he was induced to revisit England in 1735, where his son, who held the living of St. Stephen, Walbrook, was settled. To one so keenly alive to every tender sympathy, and who had recorded “an excellent wife and four lovely children” among God’s special favours to him, this must have been no ordinary pleasure; and the more so, as the bishop had long since lost his wife, together with all his children except his son. Nor would the joy of the son be less on receiving such an honoured parent under his roof. True it is that he had little of worldly wealth to bestow, but, as the following letter found among his papers proves, he had trained his children in principles, and afforded them an example far more valuable than the choicest of this world’s treasures :—

“MY CHILDREN,

“If I do not live to tell you why I have saved no more for you out of my bishopric, let this satisfy you: that the less you have of goods gathered from the Church, the better the

prudence which are usually given, and which generally end in the parent being despised by the children whom, by his advice, he has unconsciously hardened in selfishness, and trained to disobedience !

It was not to be expected that a man like Bishop Wilson could visit England without creating that impression which the moral influence of a good name always more or less produces. On being introduced at court, where he appeared in his usual simple dress, having a small black cap on his head, with flowing silvery hair, and his shoes fastened with leathern thongs instead of buckles, George the Second was so struck with his venerable appearance, that the king rose to meet him, and, taking him by the hand, said, " My lord, I beg your prayers." Wherever he went, the people knelt before him, and implored his blessing.

" How beautiful your presence, how benign,  
Servants of God ! who not a thought will share  
With the vain world, who, outwardly as bare  
As winter trees, yield no fallacious sign  
That the firm soul is clothed with fruit divine !  
Such priest, when service worthy of his care  
Has called him forth to breathe the common air,  
Might seem a saintly image from its shrine  
Descended :—happy are the eyes that meet  
The apparition ; evil thoughts are stayed

---

At his approach, and low-bowed necks entreat  
A benediction from the voice or hand,  
Whence grace, through which the heart can understand,  
And vows that bind the will in silence made."<sup>1</sup>

More than once he was solicited to remain in England. This offer, however, he rejected, as he had done before when offered an English bishopric by George I. And it was to this circumstance that Queen Caroline alluded, when, the bishop one day coming to pay his duty to her majesty, she observed to the prelates who were near her, "See here, my lords, is a bishop who does not come for a translation." To which he replied, "No, indeed; and, please your majesty, I will not leave my wife in her old age because she is poor."

On returning to his diocese, the bishop found several painful circumstances, some of which had

<sup>1</sup> This was a usual indication of reverence in his own diocese. An eye witness records, "That when the congregation were dismissed from Kirk-Michael Church after divine service, they were accustomed to range themselves in two rows along the road leading to the church, and to leave a space for the bishop to pass between them, while they remained with their hats off, and in a kneeling posture, till they received his blessing; and then they retired satisfied to their homes."—See *Stowell's Life of Bp. Wilson*, p. 217, 2d ed. The people of the island were so thoroughly persuaded of his receiving a larger portion of God's blessing, that they seldom began harvest till he did; and if he passed along by the field, they would leave their work and ask his blessing, assured that the day would be prosperous.—*Crotwell's Life*.



happened during his absence, which required attention. The sectarian and infidel principles, before alluded to as being prevalent, soon produced their accustomed fruits—ungodliness of living. No sooner was Church discipline despised than immorality and profaneness abounded. While before it had been usual for the inhabitants of this “little quiet nation,” as Bishop Wilson delighted to call his diocese, to sleep without securing their doors, now several persons were under sentence of death for burglary; and one unhappy man for the murder of a young woman, whom he had previously seduced. In the endeavour to arrest the progress of such wickedness, the bishop addressed a circular letter to his clergy, desiring them to signify these sad facts to their respective congregations, in order that they might join in praying to God, according to a form which he enclosed, for those poor souls under such mournful circumstances. He also further requested them to “speak very plainly to the people against robbing and stealing, as also against those evil ways and courses which lead to such sins; viz. idleness, drunkenness, neglecting the ordinances of God and his worship, covetousness, distrusting God’s providence, injustice in their dealings, and discontentedness in their respective stations of life.” In reference to the


---

sin of drunkenness, he classed persons "dying drunk" amongst those who have laid violent hands upon themselves, and therefore to be excluded, by the rubric, from Christian burial. "I am sure," he says in one of his charges, "if I were desired to read the office on such an occasion, I should not do it, whatever should be the consequences."

In another of his charges, delivered some years before, the bishop had given his judgment as to the particular application of the rubric in question: "The Church does not leave it to every clergyman to expound this in a favourable sense—that such only are excluded from the benefit of Christian burial, who with *a sound mind have spilled their own blood*; for nobody ever did so. Nor did she subject her clergy to be governed by the verdicts of ignorant or prejudiced juries; but she designed to discourage such actions as much as may be, that persons under temptation of laying violent hands upon themselves may be more accustomed to go to their proper pastors, to lay open their fears and temptations, and to receive ghostly comfort and absolution, for want of which there are too many of these instances amongst us. . . . Nay we encourage juries to bring in, it may be, unjust verdicts, as their verdicts, it seems, encourage us to break the Church's express commands."

A severer affliction than any perhaps he had

before experienced now awaited him. Nothing is more certain than that God punishes communities, no less than individuals, for their iniquity. Since the appearance of unprincipled publications, and the contempt of ecclesiastical discipline, the morality of the island had gradually deteriorated. Besides the crimes already mentioned, the inhabitants had, in a great measure, neglected the honest and peaceable calling of agriculture for smuggling—a pursuit which, like poaching, hardens and corrupts the hearts of all who follow it. In a mysterious way of retributive justice, the very pursuit which appeared so profitable was the occasion of a severe famine. On ceasing to cultivate their own lands, the islanders were of course dependent on England for their supply of corn ; when, therefore, as at this time, there were very generally failing crops, and an embargo was laid upon the exportation of corn from England, the inhabitants were left without any means of supplying their wants, and, as a natural consequence, were bordering upon starvation. This, as is usually the case, produced pestilence ; so that the island was now suffering beneath the double scourge of an offended God. A petition was presented by Bishop Wilson's son to the king on behalf of his father and the inhabitants of the island, who are said “to labour under the inex-



pressible want of provisions, especially bread-corn ; so that, if not speedily relieved, many persons are in danger of being starved ; and what adds to their melancholy circumstances is, that it hath pleased God to afflict them with a pestilential flux, owing, in a great measure, to the want of wholesome food."

Never did the virtues of patient suffering, piety, and charity, which at all times so eminently adorned the good bishop's character, shine more brightly than on this melancholy occasion. Apart from using every endeavour to get the embargo removed, by applying to the lord of the island and other influential persons, he personally did all in his power to relieve the miseries of his people. For the sick he provided medicines ; and that he did not neglect the destitute is evident from the following passage in a letter to his son (2nd April, 1741) :—

"What I gave at home to poor people, I gave gratis ; having, through God's blessing, about 150 Winchester bushels to spare. But my method in the poor towns has been to buy it at the market-price (which is high enough indeed), and to order it to be sold at half prime-cost, but only to poor people, and not above two pecks to any one body."

And again, in another letter, dated 25th July :—

"I have given this year about 500 bushels of

barley, which have been the support of very many families, as well as private persons, which otherwise must have perished, I verily believe."

His whole conduct during this severe chastisement remarkably coincides with that of the great St. Basil, (between whom and Bishop Wilson there was a striking resemblance,) when famine desolated the diocese of Cæsarea. The same description applies to either. Like St. Basil, his energies were enthusiastically employed on the part of the poor; he alarmed some by his denunciations, and melted others by his entreaties, and never rested until the poor were fed. Assisted by other benevolent Christians, he raised funds for their support, regulated the distribution of the stores himself, not disdaining the meanest office, and ministered to the spiritual wants of the people, at the same time that he provided for the wants of their bodies.<sup>1</sup> It is pleasing to trace this resemblance between two great saints, since it shows how essentially one and the same the Church is in all ages and all climes—one not only in faith, but in its fruits.

Amid all these calamities, Bishop Wilson used every effort to enforce that godly discipline which he well knew was one of the most efficient remedies for them. One of the chief sources of that irre-

<sup>1</sup> See Cave's "Life of S. Basil," sec. iii. p. 233.

ligion which God had so justly punished was the neglect of catechising—a duty which, as he truly observes in one of his charges, is bound upon the clergy “as strictly as laws, and canons, and conscience can bind any minister of God.” There was, indeed, no duty the performance of which he urged with greater zeal and frequency than this; but, with all his efforts, there were not a few who wished to supersede catechising by preaching—an ordinance which, with all its advantages, should never be used to the neglect of the former. Thus, when in 1740, a formal application was made to him for leave to raise a subscription for a Sunday-evening lecture, to be preached at Douglas by a clergyman (afterwards discovered to be of a very questionable character) lately come from England, the bishop very properly refused to accede to the request; at the same time assigning the following reasons for the course which he had taken :—

“ SIR,

“ Your scheme, as you call it, if suffered to take place, would be attended with more evil consequences than I have now time to mention, or, I hope, than which you thought of; otherwise you would sure have consulted your bishop before you would have suffered it so much as to have been

spoken of. Because, where people have taken a thing into their heads, right or wrong, they will be apt to lay the blame on those that oppose them, and reflect upon their judgment, discretion, or piety; which I expect will be the consequence, because I will not run headlong into your schemes, which would, in a great measure, set aside the duty of catechising, bound upon us by laws, rubrics, and canons, which, if performed as they should be, with seriousness and pains in explaining the several parts of the Catechism, would be of more use to the souls, both of the learned and ignorant, than the very best sermon out of the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> *This*, I say—after a serious, plain, and practical sermon in the morning by a minister of Jesus Christ, as you say that gentleman doth, and I believe it—will answer all the ends of instruction without an afternoon sermon, which, being a novelty in this diocese, may be attended with unforeseen mischiefs, which you yourself may have reason to repent of, and the

<sup>1</sup> As a help to catechising, the bishop more than once recommends a little work which he designated "The Church Catechism broke into short Questions," written by Dr. Sharp, son of the archbishop, under the title of "A Table of Questions for examining Children and Young Persons in the Catechism." He recommends it as "a most sure and good way to make children attend to what is said to them, and to keep them from answering by rote." Probably they who have lately condemned the use of this book are not aware of the fact here stated.

rest of your brethren have reason to blame you for, if I should be so weak as to comply with your inconsiderate project."

On another occasion, when he was consulted by one of his clergy on the subject of admitting a Jew into the Christian Church, he with great judgment observes :—

"Though charity will oblige us to hope well of men's pretences, till the contrary appears, yet we ought to be *very careful*, when their and our own souls are concerned, to be very cautious how we receive proselytes. His reasons for his conversion must be very strictly inquired into. He must know very particularly what it is to be a Christian, and the obligation he must lay himself under as ever he hopes for salvation by Jesus Christ. He must be sensible of the danger he exposes himself to in being a hypocrite in so solemn a change, and the scandal he will give to Christianity, either by a change hereafter or by leading an unchristian life. This will take some time to be done as it ought to be; and therefore we ought to have patience; and he will have patience, if he be already desirous to become a Christian. You would, therefore, do well to put into his hand some plain exposition of the Church Catechism, to be by him well



considered: after that foundation shall be laid, I will, with you, examine him upon the chief articles of Christianity."

If the probationary course here advised by the bishop were generally adopted, we should less seldom have to deplore the scandal brought upon the Church by many, whose desire for admission thereto has arisen from unworthy motives. The dangerous facility which is often afforded to schismatical teachers to receive even holy orders is truly alarming, inasmuch as it may be, and in some cases has been, made the engine for teaching heterodoxy in the Church itself.

Notwithstanding his admirable counsel, backed by the most energetic efforts, many signs of laxity and indifference, both in the laity and clergy, harassed the latter years of his life. This the complaining and admonitory tone of his last charges testify. Alas! how would the good bishop have mourned over the novelties which now distract his once united and primitive diocese!<sup>1</sup> Above all, how would he have trembled for the Christian rulers who could plan—ay, and, but for the overawing influence of his own memory, would have completed—the destruction of this diocese! It was in prospect of this sad event that the following lines were penned,

<sup>1</sup> See present bishop's primary charge.

the spirit of which animated the heart of every truly Christian Englishman at that period :—

“Mona, may Ocean’s waves that gird thee round,  
Keep watch about thy shores as holy ground,  
And lift their suppliant hands, nor plead in vain,  
And thine Apostle’s See e’en yet remain !  
For, louder than those waves thy rocks among,  
That saintly name once had a thrilling tongue,<sup>1</sup>  
Which pleaded for thy sea-encircled strand,  
And still doth plead. Woe work the reckless hand  
That shall remove thy landmark, and defile  
His living monument, thou sacred Isle.”

We have now followed this saintly bishop through most of the scenes of his eventful life to his eightieth year. Though vigorous to a degree surprising, when his past labours are considered, he felt some of the infirmities of his advanced age; as the passing allusion to his failing eyesight, in the following beautiful letter to his daughter-in-law, shows (1748).

“MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

“I have the pleasure of yours of the 8th of the last month. You put too great a value upon the little favours I can show you. My great aim

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Fleury obtained an order that no French privateer should be allowed to ravage the island on Bishop Wilson’s account.

and desire is, that my son and you may make one another so easy, as that it may be a means, through the blessing of God, of lengthening your days to a good old age; and at last we may all meet in the paradise of God. My eyes, I thank God, are much better, though my sight is a little duller than formerly; but that is what I ought to expect at eighty years. You have a share in my prayers every day of my life; and I am so happy as to find favour with God. I have some reason to hope that my prayers afterwards may be accepted at the throne of grace, for our happy meeting through the merits of the Lord Jesus."

On another occasion he informs his son, "This is one of the first letters I have written since Ash-Wednesday, when, being a cold day, I walked a little too fast to Kirk Michael Church, which, on the night following, brought on me a sharp fit of the gout, and confined me to my bed these three weeks past."

Notwithstanding his "great age, and the infirmities which attend it," he was permitted

"The pastoral staff—the keys of heaven,  
To wield awhile in greyhair'd might."

"I preached," he writes to his son in his eightieth year, "on Palm Sunday; administered the sacrament Easter Eve; preached and adminis-

tered the sacrament on Easter-day, at Peel; the next Sunday at Kirk Michael; the last Sunday at Jurby, where I performed the whole service." He was indefatigable in his high office till within a year before his death, when we find him holding an ordination, consecrating a church, and addressing his clergy. Walking, however, one evening after prayers in the garden, he caught a cold, from the effects of which he never recovered.

The last days of such a man need not be dwelt upon. He who had discharged so faithfully the highest of all earthly functions; who in prosperity had remained humble, and in adversity was so resigned to the Hand which inflicted it as to record, "A fever in 1693—a long indisposition, of which I recovered in 1698; the loss of three children at such a time as evidently showed the reason of the visitation; the loss of my dearest wife, with a very peculiar circumstance at the funeral, which showed at once the love and justice of God,"—he who could record these afflictions, which bow down ordinary Christians almost to despair, among "his merciful visitations and chastisements," might well be expected to contemplate death with that resignation to which we have seen he alluded in his letter to Lady Elizabeth Hastings.

Some weeks before his death, he was vouchsafed

a vision of that angelical ministry whose wonderful order had ever been the subject of his daily prayer and thanksgiving. "Give Thy holy angels charge concerning us," was his petition each night. "For the guard Thy holy angels keep over me, I thank Thy good providence," was his morning thanksgiving. No wonder that God should vouchsafe a visible fulfilment to a prayer offered daily by one of his saints for almost a whole century.

When sitting one morning in his study, listening to a clerical student who was reading to him out of the Greek Testament, probably one of the many passages which bear upon the ministry of angels, the bishop exclaimed, "Don't you see them? don't you see them?" "See what, my lord," answered the student. "The angels ascending and descending upon those trees." Doubtless those ministering spirits were hovering around this heir of salvation, ready to convey his departing spirit to that paradise of God "where," to use his own words, "the souls of the faithful enjoy rest and felicity in hopes of a blessed resurrection."

Notwithstanding this token of divine favour, that self-abasement which was the characteristic of his whole life continued to the end. One day, not long before his death, he was heard to exclaim in secret

---

prayer, "God be merciful to me a sinner—a vile sinner—a miserable sinner."

He died blessing God, and praising Him in ejaculations from the Prayer-book, on the 7th of March, 1755, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the fifty-eight of his consecration. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Michael; and it need not be added that the day of his interment was a day of mourning throughout his diocese. His tenantry had been appointed to bear his remains to their humble resting-place, but the whole multitude pressed forward to share the precious burden. The coffin was made out of one of the elm-trees which he had planted soon after coming to the island, and which, some years before his death, had been cut down and sawed into planks, to be in a state of readiness to receive his corpse. It is observable that his uncle, to whom allusion in the course of this memoir has often been made, "some years before his death, caused his gravestone to be laid in that place where his body was afterwards buried."<sup>1</sup>

Such was Bishop Wilson—"a name justly revered by the members of that Church of which he was in his day, and has been since, in sacred language, 'a burning and a shining light.' Burning indeed and shining, like the Baptist in an evil time, he seemed

<sup>1</sup> Wood, A.O. iv. p. 262.

as if a beacon lighted in his small island, to show what his Lord and Saviour could do in spite of man; how He could at will make for himself a dwelling-place upon the waves, and a garden in the barren sea. . . . The English soil, indeed, had its own witnesses and teachers at the time; but none at once so exalted in station, and so saintly in character, so active and tried in his lifetime, and so influential in his works as Bishop Wilson."<sup>1</sup>

Having no selfish ends to serve, and being free from the thralldom of ambitious views, he devoted all his energies to the glory of God and His Church, in the promotion of which no personal considerations, no motives of low expedience or mere prudence were allowed to have a share. Hence every action bore the impress of self-denial and fortitude. Though repeatedly offered an English bishopric, and once, at a time when the acceptance of it would have relieved him from much personal difficulty and pecuniary embarrassment, he declined the offer in conformity to the opinion which he has expressed respecting the "translation of bishops and pastors:"—

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Sacra Privata* (Ox. ed.). In speaking of this and his other writings, Bishop Horne observes, "They exhibit altogether a complete and lovely portrait of a Christian bishop going through all his functions with consummate prudence and piety—the pastor and father of a happy island for near three-score years."

---

“When men’s labours are attended with tolerable success, yet, either because they can better their temporal condition, or think that a more public station would be more suited to their great capacities, they leave their station for one more full of dangers, without any prospect of being more serviceable to God, or His Church, and the souls of men; not considering that this is the voice of pride, self-love, and covetousness, and an evil example to others, to whom we do or should preach humility, as the very foundation of Christianity.” Rather than allow his episcopal authority to be slighted, and the discipline of the Church violated, he submitted to the privations of a prison. With Bishop Wilson, the spirit of the age was no rule of conduct, but those immutable principles of truth to which that varying spirit is ever opposed. Would that the same principles of action were generally acknowledged now. For it is certain that if ever pure, evangelical, primitive piety is to be restored among us, it must, under God, be by men who forget themselves in the work in which they are engaged, and who are willing, if needs be, to suffer the loss of all things for the Cross of Christ. To give the good bishop’s own words, which every action of his long life exemplified, “Whoever is not



ready to part with all, rather than be wanting to his duty, is not worthy to be a successor to the Apostles." "Inspire my heart," was his frequent prayer, "with such holy resolution and courage that I may not fear any man when Thy honour and my duty call me; that no worldly consideration may hinder me when my office obliges me to stand in the gap. Amen."<sup>1</sup> This is the true source of moral power. It is not in temporal rank or in wealth that the pastors of Christ's Church must trust for real influence amongst their flocks. These, as we have seen, were not the sources of Bishop Wilson's influence. For, as an able writer asks, "What is it in Bishop Wilson,—in him who seems to have won by common consent the title of 'apostolical,'—whose known faith and sanctity preserved his island diocese from hostile descents in the time of war with France,—what is it that makes the Bishop of Sodor and Man, the least of all British sees, to be almost the greatest, as well as the most loved and venerated, among modern pastors? Without doubt, it is the reality and warmth which is felt to live in every act of his episcopate. Throughout the whole of his career, he seems in the midst of a spiritual family, bowing the hearts of his children as one heart towards

<sup>1</sup> *Sacra Privata.*

---

himself, ruling over his church and household as a true father in God.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Voice of the fearless saint!  
Ring like a trump, where gentle hearts  
Beat high for truth, but, doubting, cower and faint:  
Tell them the hour is come, and they must take their  
parts.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> English Review, No. I. Art. Additional Bishoprics.

<sup>2</sup> *Lyra Apostolica*.



**LIFE OF WILLIAM JONES, M.A.**

---

“ A priest, the like of whom  
If multiplied, and in their stations set,  
Would o’er the bosom of a joyful land  
Spread true religion and her genuine fruits.”

WORDSWORTH.

**Biography of English Bishops.**

---

**THE LIFE**

**OF**

**WILLIAM JONES, M.A.,**

**PERPETUAL CURATE OF NAYLAND.**

---

**LONDON:**

**JOSEPH MASTERS, ALDERSGATE STREET,**

**AND 78, NEW BOND STREET.**

**mDccclix.**



**The Life**  
**OF**  
**WILLIAM JONES, M.A.,**  
**PERPETUAL CURATE OF NAYLAND.**

---

**T**HIS well-known scholar and divine was born at Lowick, a village in Northamptonshire, on the 30th of July, 1726. His family, as the name implies, was of Welsh origin; and his father was a descendant of Colonel Jones, Cromwell's brother-in-law,— a descent of which Jones was greatly ashamed: for though the religion and loyalty of his father were unimpeachable, he could not forget his remoter ancestor; and was frequently heard to express his fears lest God should wreak his just vengeance upon the descendants of a regicide.

His childhood was distinguished for a more than ordinary curiosity in examining into the reasons of



things; and when, through the kindness of the Duke of Dorset, he was nominated to a scholarship at Charterhouse, his progress in the elementary branches of learning was more than usually rapid. He also gave early indication of a taste for scientific pursuits, which was not a little strengthened by an acquaintance with Zachary Williams, the father of Mrs. Anna Williams, the friend and companion of Dr. Johnson, who was the author of a magnetical theory with which Jones, in his boyhood, appears to have made himself familiar.

At the age of eighteen he proceeded, on a Charterhouse exhibition, to University College, Oxford; where he soon became intimately known to men both of his own and of elder standing, whose superior attainments were well calculated to give a bias to his studies and opinions. The chief of these friends, and one with which his name will ever be associated, was George Horne, the future bishop, then a youth of fifteen, and who had arrived at the University about the same time as Jones. The performance of a college exercise, in which they were competitors, appears to have first introduced them to each other. A kindred taste for music, in which they both excelled, kept alive the connexion; which a fellow-feeling in matters still more important afterwards ripened into fast friendship.

---

The intimacy of these generous youths at this period wore something of the character of the intercourse between the youthful Basil and Gregory of Nazianzun, while fellow-students at Athens. And perhaps Gregory's glowing description of that friendship is not unsuited to this, as the same contrast of character, angelic sweetness, and some sternness, which distinguished these two venerable fathers, was observable in some degree both in Horne and Jones. St. Gregory thus describes his early intimacy with St. Basil, at Athens:—

"There, too, I gain'd a further gift of God,  
Who made me friends with one of wisdom high,  
Without compeer in learning and in life.  
Ask ye his name?—in sooth, 'twas Basil, since  
My life's great gain, and then my fellow dear  
In home, and studious search, and knowledge earn'd.  
May I not boast how in our day we moved  
A truest pair, not without name in Greece;  
Had all things common, and one only soul  
In lodgment of a double outward frame?  
Our special bond the thought of God above,  
And the high longing after holy things;  
And each of us was bold to trust in each,  
Unto the emptying of our deepest hearts;  
And then we loved the more, for sympathy  
Pleaded in each, and knit the twain in one."<sup>1</sup>

Another of Jones's college friends, who exercised no unimportant influence on his subsequent career,

<sup>1</sup> Church of the Fathers, p. 118, 2nd edition.

natural religion; and to many passages of Scripture they gave a figurative, rather than a literal, interpretation."

These views, thus early adopted by Jones, were not a little confirmed by frequent intercourse with Mr. George Watson, a fellow of his own college, who had bestowed considerable attention upon them.

"He was a classical scholar," to describe him in the words of Jones, "of the first rate, from a public school, remarkable for an unusual degree of taste and judgment in music and oratory; his person was elegant and striking, and his countenance expressed at once both the gentleness of his temper and the quickness of his understanding. His manners and address were those of a perfect gentleman; his common talk, though easy and fluent, had the correctness of studied composition; his benevolence was so great that all the beggars in Oxford knew the way to his chamber-door. Upon the whole, his character was so spotless, and his conduct so exemplary, that, mild and gentle as he was in his carriage towards them, no young man dared to be rude in his company. By many of the first people in the University, he was known and admired; and it being my fortune to live on the same staircase with him, he was very kind and attentive to me, though I was much his

---

junior. He often allowed me the pleasure of his conversation, and sometimes gave me the benefit of his advice; of which I knew the meaning to be so good, that I always heard it with respect, and followed it as well as I could. This gentleman, with all his other qualifications, was a reader of Hebrew, and a favourer of Mr. Hutchinson's philosophy; but had kept it to himself in the spirit of Nicodemus: and when I asked him the reason of it afterwards, and complained of the reserve with which he had so treated me in this respect—'Why,' said he, 'these things are in no repute; the world does not receive them; and you being a young man who must keep what friends you have, and make your fortune in the world, I thought it better to let you go on in your own way, than bring you to that embarrassment which might be productive of more harm than good, and embitter the future course of your life: besides, it was far from being clear to me how you would receive them, and then I might have lost your friendship.' It was now too late for such a remonstrance to have any effect; I, therefore, on the contrary, prevailed upon him to become my master in Hebrew, which I was very desirous to learn: and in this he acquitted himself with so much skill and kind attention, writing out for me with his own hand such grammatical rules and directions as he judged necessary,

had laid claim to the countenance of primitive antiquity, had been thoroughly worsted by Bishop Bull, as were also the metaphysical Arians by Sherlock and South. The controversy had, however, now assumed a different phase in the person of Dr. Clarke, who boldly asserted that Arianism was the doctrine of Scripture. The fallacy, as well as the presumption, of this claim was clearly established by Waterland in his masterly treatises against Clarke.<sup>1</sup> But the snake was scotched, not killed, and it again shed forth its venom in the pages of less able writers. Of these was one who, by his office, was pledged to very opposite views. Dr. Clayton, a clergyman of some influence in Ireland, having become accidentally acquainted with Clarke, was recommended by him to the queen, by whose interest he was advanced to an Irish bishopric. He had not long held that high dignity before he sent forth an "Essay on Spirit;" of which though it is doubtful whether he himself was the author, yet, as it bore the sanction of his name, it might well be considered as representing his own sentiments on the subject. For a bishop to attack a doctrine, and that a most vital one, which he was sworn to defend, might well excite discussion and alarm. The writer

<sup>1</sup> See introduction to Waterland's Works by Bishop Van Mildert, sec. iii.

also proposed the alteration or omission of several passages in the creeds and liturgy, which were known to witness against Arianism.

Shortly after the appearance of this work, Horne visited his friend Jones, for the purpose of persuading him to undertake a reply to it; which he promised to do, provided Horne would give him his assistance. With the help of the rector's library, the young polemics were not long in preparing an answer, which, for its learning, logic, and orthodoxy, would have done credit to riper scholars and older disputants. It is to be regretted that, whatever good effect it might have upon others, Bishop Clayton himself was uninfluenced by it. He even ventured to move in the House of Lords for the omission of the passages in the Prayer-book which he had denounced in his essay, and eventually proceeded to such lengths of heterodoxy, that it was only his death that prevented his being deprived of that holy office which he had so awfully profaned.

To Jones the preparation of his reply was of considerable advantage, inasmuch as it brought him into contact with writers whose spirit he has so richly transfused into his own works. He then first became acquainted with the works of the celebrated Charles Leslie, which, as he truly observes, "may be considered as a library in themselves to any

young student of the Church of England; and no such person, who takes a fancy to what he there finds, can ever fall into Socinianism, fanaticism, popery, or any other of those modern corruptions which infest the Church and nation." His coadjutor Horne appears to have been equally benefited by Leslie's works, especially his "Rehearsals" — a popular periodical paper which this author had published in the reign of Queen Anne, greatly to the confusion of dissenters and republicans, the disciples of Sidney and Locke.

About a year after the appearance of his first theological work, Jones married Elizabeth Bridges, the daughter of a clergyman, and in every respect worthy of that confidence and esteem which, as will be seen, he felt towards her. He left his first curacy soon after his marriage, and went to reside as curate to his brother-in-law, who held the living of Wadenhoe in the same county. It was during his residence in this place that he drew up his well-known treatise on the "Doctrine of the Trinity," a little work which gives a scriptural proof of that cardinal verity, at once the cleverest, most succinct, and unanswerable in the whole circle of English theology. At Wadenhoe, also, he diligently prosecuted his studies in natural philosophy; and as his own means were quite inadequate to

procure the instruments necessary to elucidate the subject, several friends came forward, and agreed to allow him three hundred a year for three years for that purpose. The firstfruits of these labours was an essay, which appeared in the year 1762, on the "First Principle of Natural Philosophy." This work being based upon the Hutchinsonian in opposition to the Newtonian theory, it excited much opposition among the supporters of the latter; and in consequence of its appearance, the University of Oxford refused the author an honorary degree of M.A., for obtaining which an attempt seems to have been made at this time, as the following extract from a letter written (July 21st, 1762) by Mr. Charles Goodwyn, a fellow of Baliol, to Mr. Hutchinson, the historian of Dorsetshire, shows: "Your intelligence concerning Jones is not true. . . . Some of his friends, abounding with zeal and want of judgment, have been soliciting to obtain for him a master's degree by diploma; and some of the heads of houses were disposed to grant it. He has done nothing to deserve such a favour; but what is worse, he has just published a stupid, silly book against Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. There is a stop put to it among the heads of houses; and had it been brought into Convocation, would have been thrown out by a great majority."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Bowyer's *Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 228.



But, whatever might be the unsoundness of the scientific theory maintained in this work, its merit on other grounds was indisputable. So persuaded was Archbishop Secker of its "being sensibly and candidly written, and that it was not to be treated with neglect," that, in token of his approbation, he preferred the author to the vicarage of Bethersden in Kent (1764), and shortly afterwards to the rectory of Pluckley, in the same county, whither he removed with his wife and children, a son and daughter. The united value of these livings being insufficient to a decent maintenance, Jones, though caring no more for money, as an old servant used to say of him, than for the dirt in the street, was compelled to seek an increase of income by tuition; and to this circumstance it is that we are indebted for the excellent "Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils," which contain the substance of his conversations with them. For, as he tells us, he sought to make himself useful in his important duties, not only by reading books with them, but by conversing freely with them on literary and moral subjects. The letters are twenty-six in number; and, both on account of the information they contain, and the high moral tone which pervades them, they cannot fail to be eminently useful to all who are engaged in forming the characters of Christian scholars and gentlemen.

Of the pupils to whom these letters were originally addressed, little is known. That some of them were the scions of our nobility may be inferred from the following incident, which shows also how highly Jones's qualifications as a tutor were appreciated. When an ecclesiastical dignitary was asked, by a nobleman, if he considered Mr. Jones a suitable person to have the charge of his sons before they went to the University, the reply was, "Your lordship may think yourself happy if you can prevail on him to take them. He is everything you could wish. Besides his extensive knowledge of all kinds, and his singular faculty of communicating to others what he knows, he is full of observation—nothing escapes him; the most common occurrences of life supply him with matter for improvement of the mind, and his conversation is remarkably lively and agreeable." It need not be added that the nobleman was quite satisfied with this high yet well-deserved eulogium, and immediately intrusted his sons to Jones's care. The present venerated Earl Kenyon was also one of his pupils; a connexion to which his lordship is known to look back most affectionately and gratefully.

Such was the activity of his mind, that the labour of tuition did not prevent him from continuing his own literary pursuits. At the end of the year 1766, a new edition of the "Doctrine of the Trinity" being

called for, he took the opportunity of affixing to it a "Letter to the Common People" on the same subject, and which, from the appropriateness of the arguments, conveyed in a plain and vigorous style, was well calculated to protect them against the specious errors of the time. Four years afterwards he published an answer, which he had written some time ago, to an abominable publication called "The Confessional," by Archdeacon Blackburne, son of the unworthy Archbishop of York of the same name. The object of this work was, like other wretched efforts of that age, to do away with all creeds and confessions altogether, and to require nothing from candidates for ordination but a declaration that they were Christians and Protestants, and would teach the people out of the Scriptures whatever they should themselves think was the true meaning of the sacred text—thus resolving all necessary belief into one article, that they would not be papists, and, under pretence of exalting the Scriptures, making the most essential doctrines of the New Testament a matter of uncertainty and indifference. Yet this book was praised in its day as "a great and masterly work," and such principles are not yet extinct among us. Jones replied to it with great ability, and, by a combination of wit, learning, and solid reasoning, thoroughly exposes the dishonesty and ignorance of the writer.

---

It has been already remarked that one of the peculiarities of the Hutchinsonians was to adopt a figurative rather than literal interpretation of Scripture, especially of those passages which refer to the natural world. This mode of interpretation runs through most of Jones's writings, while several of them were composed for the express purpose of elucidating it. Thus, in the year 1773, he published a series of treatises on select passages of Scripture which admitted of a figurative interpretation, among which is a curious treatise entitled *Zoologia Ethica*, a disquisition concerning the Mosaic distinction of animals into clean and unclean, being an attempt to explain to Christians the wisdom, morality, and use of that institution. In this tract he professes "to have demonstrated from the Scripture, and the reason of the thing itself, that there was a moral design in this distinction of animals into clean and unclean, under which the Jews were instructed, as by an epilogue or parable, that this was the will of God, even their sanctification. . . . In the assembly of clean animals, we see what the members of the Church of Israel were, or ought to have been, when they were separated from idolaters and enclosed within that fold of which God himself was the Shepherd; feeding them in a green pasture, and leading them beside the waters of comfort. In the crew of the unclean

and abominable, we see what the practitioners and professors of heathenism actually were, whether philosophers or idiotics, roving about through the fields and forests of the world, without any bond of peace or uniformity, and with the devil as their sovereign, the prince and pattern of darkness, cruelty, and uncleanness, who is cursed above every beast of the field."

This tract caused a good deal of discussion when it first appeared. Bishop Newton, the writer on the prophecies, seems to have approved of it; while Middleton, and others, handled it very severely. As to the method of interpretation adopted by Jones, it must be admitted that the early Christian writers very generally used it; and though the method has not met with much approbation from English divines, treatises have lately appeared on the subject which are likely to recall attention to it.<sup>1</sup>

He also brought the Hutchinsonian jealousy of heathen literature to bear upon the profanations and indecencies which a conceited imitation of it had

<sup>1</sup> Tracts for the Times (89), on the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church. The reader will find the same view maintained in "Thoughts on the Study of the Holy Gospels," in tracing the "Analogy between the Material and Spiritual World," by the Rev. Isaac Williams. See also Mr. Evans' introduction to "Songs of the Birds; or Analogies of Animal and Spiritual Life."

occasioned. In this matter he felt very strongly. "Should any person ask me," he says, and the truth of the observation was singularly confirmed by the revolution in France which followed soon afterwards, "how Christianity is to be banished out of Christendom, as the predictions of the Gospel lead us to expect it will be, I should make no scruple to answer that it will certainly be brought to pass by this growing affection to heathenism." With a view, therefore, of retarding the consummation of this catastrophe, or, at any rate, of delivering his own soul in the matter, he drew up some "Reflections on the Growth of Heathenism among Modern Christians," in a letter to a friend at Oxford, and which he seriously recommended to all those who were intrusted with the education of youth. As the evils complained of in this letter are not less prevalent in our own age, a few extracts may, it is hoped, be beneficial. At any rate, they will show that the reprehension of them is not new, and that English churchmen had condemned the irreverent admixture of things sacred and profane before some late assailants of the same offences against decorum and religious feeling were born to denounce them to the world as results of the English Reformation. Than Jones, for instance, no man was ever more alive to the decorous gravity and reverence of past ages as regards

the ornaments and furniture of churches, nor did any one more deprecate the irreverence of his own time in this respect. "There might," he judiciously remarks, "be a faulty superstition, with a mixture of simplicity bordering upon ignorance, in the works of former ages; but the style of them shewed that Christianity was the religion of the country, and that the several particulars of the sacred history were then held in honour, as subjects most worthy to be offered for admiration, and recommended by all the efforts of human ingenuity." With this spirit he contrasts the influence of the taste for heathen learning which began to prevail about the time of the Reformation. He laments that the fabulous objects of Grecian mythology have ever got possession of our churches; in one of which, at the village of Wharton, near Kettering in Northamptonshire, he observes, "I have seen a monument, with elegant figures as large as the life, of the three Fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, spinning and clipping the thread of a great man's life; by which species of memorial he is taken, as it were, out of the hands of the true God, whom we Christians worship in our churches, and turned over to the miserable blindness of heathen destiny, not to mention the insult and profanation with which heathen idols are brought into a Christian temple. In the same church, the

baptistery, or font, is removed almost out of sight, and, when found, has a very mean and unworthy appearance, as if it were intended for some other use; so natural is it for those improvements which exalt heathenism to debase Christianity. How conspicuous are the temples of the heathen idols in the famous gardens of Stowe in Buckinghamshire; while the parish church, which happens to stand within the precincts, is industriously shrouded behind evergreens and other trees, as an object impertinent, or at least of no importance, to a spectator of modern taste."

The effect of this kind of irreverence is thus stated: "This taste is not only profane and corrupting whenever it takes place, but the productions of it are sometimes monstrously absurd and incongruous; it begets a certain inattention to propriety, which admits of false and shocking associations, consistent neither with goodness of taste nor correctness of judgment. When I see the figure of a cock upon the top of a steeple, I am reminded of that sacred bird who was a monitor to St. Peter, and through his example is now giving a daily lesson to all believers. When I see the globe and cross at the top of St. Paul's, I rejoice in the exaltation of Him who was humbled for our sakes, but is now the Head of all principality and power to the Church and to the



world. But when I see the dragon upon Bow steeple, I can only wonder how an emblem so expressive of the devil, and frequently introduced as such into the temples of idolaters, found its way to the summit of a Christian edifice."

He further remarks that "the tokens of this pagan infection are very observable in all the sciences. In politics nothing is heard of but Brutus, the heroism of rebels, and the virtue of regicides. Botany, which in ancient times was full of the blessed Virgin Mary, and had many religious memorials affixed to it, is now as full of the heathen Venus, the Mary of our modern virtuosi. Amongst the ancient names of plants, we found the *Calceolus Mariae*, *Carduus Mariae*, *Carduus benedictus*, our Lady's thistle, our Lady's mantle, the alchymilla, &c.; but modern improvements have introduced the *Speculum Veneris*, *Labrum Veneris*, Venus's looking-glass, Venus's basin, (the *dipsacus*), Venus's navel-wort, Venus's fly-trap, and such like: and whereas the ancient botanists took a pleasure in honouring the memory of the Christian saints with the St. John's wort, St. Peter's wort, herb Gerard, herb Christopher, and many others, the modern ones, more affected to their own honour, have dedicated several newly discovered genera of plants to one another, of which the *Hottonia*, the *Sibthorpia*, are

---

instances, with others so numerous and familiar to men of science that they need not be specified.”<sup>1</sup>

Even literature, especially poetry, was tainted by the same spirit; and he notices with deserved severity the development of it in the “Universal Prayer,” by Pope,<sup>2</sup> which, he says, “gives us a new sort of levelling theology unknown to the wisdom of former ages. When the Jewish nation was called out by the prophet Elijah to be spectators of the grandest dispute the world ever saw,—that is, to determine whether Jehovah or Baal was the proper object of religious adoration,—Mr. Pope could have settled it all in a word or two, only by instructing the parties that the true God is worshipped in every

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Brown, in one of his dialogues, makes the infamous puritan Prynne speak thus: “In our zeal we visited the gardens and apothecaries’ shops. So *Unguentum apostolicum* was commanded to take a new name, and, besides, to find security for its good behaviour for the future. *Carduus benedictus*, *Angelica*, *St. John’s wort*, and *our Lady’s thistle* were summoned before a class, and forthwith ordered to distinguish themselves by more sanctified appellations.” Quoted in Southey’s “Colloquia,” i. p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> The reader may find Pope’s theory anticipated and thoroughly exposed by Origen in his reply to the infidel Celsus, and by St. Athanasius in his treatises against the Arians. Jones was well aware of the noxious tendency of Pope’s writings; and, in order to neutralize the danger of one of the most celebrated of that poet’s works, he wrote an “Essay on Man” (Works). See also his just censure of the “Elegy on an Unfortunate Young Lady,” who died of incestuous love (iv. 396).

climate by those who worship any God at all; that the saint, the savage, and the sage, the Hebrew, the Hottentot, and the Greek philosopher, were the votaries of one and the same Divinity." He also points out passages of somewhat similar tendency in Young's "Night Thoughts," and in a poem written by Edmund Halley in praise of the Newtonian philosophy.

The writer concludes his essay with devoutly wishing that some censor would arise, with the zeal and spirit of Martin Luther, to remonstrate effectually against this indulgence of paganism, which he declares to be more fatal to the interests of Christianity than all the abuses purged away at the Reformation.

When he had resided about twelve years at Pluckley, he obtained the perpetual curacy of Nayland in Suffolk (1776), with which his name is now generally associated, and where he resided during the remainder of his life. Availing himself of the interruption to his pursuits occasioned by this removal, he visited Paris, where he became personally acquainted with Mr. Asseline, the Professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne, and who, after the revolution, was appointed to the Bishopric of Bologne. While at Paris, the first volume of Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible made its appearance,—a work the desira-

---

bleness of which both Horne and Jones considered very questionable, it being quite evident that a new English version, as well as a new Hebrew text, was meditated, and thus a way was open to a great deal of licentious criticism.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, by this time certain that Kennicot's learned labours have not led to any such consequences as the two friends apprehended. It was also from a traveller in Paris, who had seen and knew more of the world than any man he had ever met with, that Jones heard a wise observation, which is worth recording, and which he himself frequently recited. "The man," said he, "who injures me without provocation will never be able to contain himself without injuring others in like manner; some of whom will be sure to pay off my scores, and save me the trouble: and in the course of my life I never yet found but that some body or other, in due time, revenged my quarrel, far beyond its value, upon that man whose ill manners and insolence I had patiently neglected."<sup>2</sup>

In the same year he issued an "Address to the British Government" in reference to the sad consequences of denying bishops to our American colonies, it being the opinion of thoughtful men that the American Revolution was the result of that

<sup>1</sup> See Horne's objections. *Life*, pp. 96—98.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 143.

neglect. "It is now a duty," observes Jones, "on those who would preserve as well as restore the peace of this kingdom, to take this opportunity of reminding the government that episcopacy ought, according to the laws of God, and the rights of Englishmen, in the great charter of this country, to have been settled in the American colonies above an hundred years ago; and had likewise a political as well as a religious claim to be protected against all other interests, as congenial and friendly to the British government. But instead of this it has been left under every possible disadvantage. All attempts made by good men, either here or in America, to introduce episcopacy, have either been coldly neglected by those in power or purposely defeated; and this either by silent artifice or clamorous opposition. And why? because the presbyterians would be disobliged . . . God knows where the chief blame is to be laid; whether the state or the clergy have been most in fault. When Herring was Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Sherlock of London desired his concurrence in a petition to the throne, for leave to consecrate suffragans (bishops without sees) for America, but was answered that he would have no hand in any proceedings that might give offence to our dissenting brethren; on which Dr. Sherlock is said to have replied, 'that he had al-

---

ways heard the Church would be in danger when his grace should be at the head of it, and now he found the suspicion verified.' In the late excellent Dr. Secker the Church of England had a sincere friend, who endeavoured, both in word and deed, to promote episcopacy in America; and if the measure had been successful, it would have given a seasonable check to the growth of the rebellion which has since broke out, by raising the spirits of the episcopal party, and adding influence to those good principles of obedience and loyalty which never fail to thrive under episcopal government.

"... But the worst part of our story is yet to come. In July 1766, a popish bishop went over from London to Quebec, by permission of this government; and popery is now licensed by the crown of England in that part of the world where a Protestant bishop of the Church of England has never been tolerated! *Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O Earth!* for neither the one nor the other was ever witness to such an instance of injustice and absurdity. Papists are licensed, presbyterians are obliged, where the religion of the crown and government is not tolerated."

In this earnest strain did Jones denounce the short-sighted policy of the British government towards our American colonies in that which con-

cerned their highest interest. It is satisfactory to know that Englishmen in the present day have profited from the experience of the past, and acknowledge that episcopacy is the best conservator of loyalty and obedience in our colonies. One of the most cheering signs of the times is the extension of our Colonial Church.

We must now return to Jones's scientific pursuits. It has already been noticed that means were afforded him to carry on these investigations; the further results of which appeared, in the year 1781, in several "Physiological Disquisitions, or Discourses on the Natural History of the Elements." This work had a considerable circulation, an edition of seven hundred copies having been quickly sold; yet, like his former treatise, it was far from receiving universal approbation. The Earl of Bute, however, was so struck with its excellence, that he encouraged the author to pursue his inquiries; and that the want of philosophical instruments might be no impediment, he ordered them to be provided at his own expense. This nobleman, whose lot was cast amid the tumults of political strife at a period of unusual public excitement, duly prized the pursuits of science and literature, and patronised them accordingly. Indeed, he admitted that the period of his life on which he reflected with most pleasure and satisfaction was that

in which he had directed the studies of his children when living in a remote northern county. Since he had left the peaceful shades of private life for the arena of political strife, he confessed that he had not known a happy moment. Such joy ambition finds!

In the foregoing incidents of Jones's life so little has been said of his clerical duties, or the manner in which he discharged them, that it may perhaps be inferred that his literary occupations were allowed to interfere with others more sacred. Such a thought, however, would greatly wrong this conscientious man. His parish, being small, and therefore not requiring that constant attention which in these days the vast increase of our population renders necessary, he had much leisure, which, instead of bestowing upon innocent recreations, as others probably did, he, like his friend Bishop Horne,<sup>1</sup> devoted it to honourable and useful studies, all of which, it should be borne in mind, were strictly connected with theology. Besides, his writings

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of Horne, he says, "I wish every young man who is intended for a scholar had some good or some necessary reason for not being led away by any sort of recreation. It was of service to his mind that he was no fisherman, no shooter, no hunter, no horseman: the cultivation of his understanding was therefore carried on with less interruption, and his improvements were rapid." — *Life*, p. 151.



bear ample testimony to his diligent discharge of parochial duties. A visitation sermon, preached before Archbishop Secker, and which he afterwards recast and published, in "A Letter to a Friend going into Holy Orders," abounds with advice on the duties of a clergyman, which no one could have given who had not himself practised them. He also recommends Bishop Andrewes' "Manual for the Sick," as the best work extant upon its subject; and, with the zeal of one who had already found the practical advantage of it, wishes that all the clergy in the nation were possessed of it. The discourses which he preached before his people at Nayland show that he bestowed no less care and thoughtfulness upon his sermons than upon compositions intended for the public eye. Nor was he less anxious to instruct the young and ignorant in the principles of the Gospel, it being his settled opinion, as he informed his friend at Oxford, "that the only way to remove the ignorance, either of young or old, is to instruct them publicly and privately in the principles of the Gospel. No science," he remarks, "can be understood properly unless we begin with its elements. For this reason," he continues, "I have always been so desirous that children should be well instructed in the Catechism. I received," he tells his parishioners of Paston, (a living which he had obtained in

exchange for Pluckley,) "the advice many years ago from a bishop of this Church, who was your diocesan: he said, 'Whatever you do, be diligent in catechising; it is of much more use than preaching.' So, indeed, it is; and there are those who can witness that I have never been wanting in the practice; in which, if any minister engages with sincerity and affection, I can promise him, from my own experience, that the smiles of the little children of his parish will make him amends for many of the frowns he may meet with in the world."<sup>1</sup>

In the preface to his well-known "Essay on the Church"—a work which conveys a clearer notion of the notes and privileges of that mystical body, and of the sin and danger of separating from it, than any treatise of the same compass in our language—he further alludes to his labours in the education of the children of the poor: "I was led to the subject of this essay by an accident. I am curate in a country parish, who make it my business, and have found it my pleasure, to teach the children of my people, privately in my own house, and publicly in the church; and I am, for the present, the only schoolmaster of the place. In the course of my instructions, I had occasion to observe that the Catechism of the Church of Eng-

<sup>1</sup> Friendly Admonition to the Churchman. Works, iv.

land, though a most excellent summary of the Christian doctrine, is deficient in one point, viz. the constitution of the Church of Christ;<sup>1</sup> the knowledge of which, in a certain degree, is necessary to the preservation of that charity which is the end of the commandment; and for the want of which so many are drawn away from the Church, who would certainly have remained with it had they known what it is. Yet is our Catechism not so deficient but that it includes the grand distinction betwixt the world and the Church; which distinction being explained, I found we were possessed of a leading idea, which gave so much light to my young pupils that I am determined to go through the subject." Such, then, was the origin of this very excellent treatise. It was written to assist the curate of Nayland in the discharge of one of his most responsible duties; and with a similar view it was that, a few years afterwards, he drew up the "Churchman's Catechism, or Elements of Instruction on the Nature and Constitution of the Christian Church; intended for the use of Sunday-schools, and such adult persons as are yet uninstructed in the subject." The discourse on "Confirmation" was no doubt originally intended for the use of his own catechumens.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Nelson also expresses the same opinion in his introduction to "Festivals and Fasts."

---

As an experiment to teach children the knowledge of Scripture by things instead of words, he drew up the "Book of Nature, or the True Sense of Things explained and made easy to the Capacities of Children."

Nor was the due celebration of the public services of the Church, which in one of his parishes he made an effort to solemnize daily,<sup>1</sup> a matter of inferior consideration to Jones. Like his friend Horne, who accounted it as a peculiar happiness of his life that from the age of twenty years he was constantly gratified by the service of a choir,—at the hearing of which, Jones tells us, "his countenance was illuminated, as if heavenly vision had been superadded to earthly devotion,"<sup>2</sup>—he was keenly susceptible of the charms of music, especially the sacred music of the Church. Hence, knowing how greatly psalmody is adapted to enkindle the devotion of the faithful worshipper, he was anxious to introduce it into his church. And having skill as

<sup>1</sup> See conclusion of Sermon xiii. "The House of God, the House of Prayer," vol. iii. p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> George Herbert, when he returned from the Cathedral of Salisbury, which he attended twice each week, used to say "that the time spent in prayer and cathedral music elevated his soul and was his heaven upon earth." This anecdote reminds one of Lord Clarendon's father, who went to reside at Salisbury for no other object than that he might enjoy the privilege of attending daily Cathedral service.

much future benefit, and prevent this church and parish from being neglected hereafter, as they have been in time past.<sup>1</sup> If they who have robbed, destroyed, and profaned churches have been visited by the just judgment of God, whereof we have notorious instances in the history of this country, they who contribute to their support may justly expect to be blessed in themselves, and in those who succeed to their possessions. The Church, therefore, which owes so much to her, ought at least to pay the present debt of respect and gratitude to her memory; and it would scarcely have been decent in me to have omitted it."

While at Nayland he was instrumental in forming the character of a young man, whose untimely death was pronounced to be a public loss by the then Archbishop of Canterbury. Allusion is here made to George Downing, son of a prebendary of Ely, who had been one of Jones's early friends at Oxford. After having been educated by Dr.

<sup>1</sup> The evil of impropriations was never more flagrant than in the parish of Nayland. "It is a fact known to us all, that in this place no part of the property of the parish is settled upon the service of the Church. The rectorial tithes are in possession of the lay-impropriator, who is a papist; the vicarial tithes are taken by the vicar of another parish; and the only certain dependance of a minister is upon benefactions of a modern date from other quarters." See Sermon on "History of Collections for the Poor," vol. iv. p. 161.

Parr, he was articled to an attorney in Nayland, where he spent all his leisure hours in the society of Jones, whose acquaintance he ever considered to be amongst the greatest blessings of his life. He was afterwards called to the Bar, where he practised with considerable success: and his reputation for loyalty being high, he was requested to accept a commission in a regiment of volunteers; in discharging the duties of which, during the riots of London in the year 1800, he caught a severe cold which terminated in death. Jones had also the credit of softening down the unruly spirit of the late excellent Lord Lyttelton in early youth, and of turning his mind to those views upon which he acted through life.

But all Jones's parishioners were not like these excellent persons. From a sermon preached on the occasion of two young women doing penance in the church, as well as from two discourses to his parishioners of Paston on "The Duty of Hearing the Church," it may be inferred that some of his flock had not escaped the prevailing immorality and fanaticism of the times. It was to the same people that he addressed "A Preservative against the Publications dispersed by Modern Socinians." In another sermon, entitled "Parochial Reformation recommended," he feelingly alludes to the particular

difficulties which beset his path in his own parish, which for a long period had been subjected to all the evils which inevitably arise from the want of a resident minister. But amidst this discouraging state of things, he comforted himself by the reflection, that if some advantages are denied, others will be always left to us. "I can instruct the children of my parish; I can visit the sick, and comfort those who have no comforter but God and myself; I can help the poor in some of their occasional distresses; and (with God's help) I can preach the Gospel freely."<sup>1</sup>

It is curious, and often not uninteresting, to observe the different success that sometimes attends persons who hold the same sentiments, are united in the closest friendship, and possess at least equal claims to promotion. This contrast is strongly marked in the career of Jones and Horne. While the former, that he might even decently maintain his family, was obliged to add to his other labours that of tuition; the latter, though less generally known as a sound divine and accomplished scholar, and, upon the whole, less highly gifted than his friend, had preferments heaped upon him. He filled the highest university offices, and was chosen President of St. Mary

<sup>1</sup> Works, vol. iv. p. 126.

Magdalene College; from whence he was elected, through the influence of Lord North and the Earl of Liverpool, to the Deanery of Canterbury, and subsequently to the Bishopric of Norwich. These differences in station made no alteration in the friendship that existed between them, except to deepen it. At the Deanery of Canterbury, Jones was a constant visitor; and when Horne obtained a bishopric, he appointed his friend his domestic chaplain. During the continuance of this relation, one or two incidents are preserved, which, apart from illustrating the views of the persons concerned, throw considerable light upon the religious aspect of the times.

Soon after his consecration, Bishop Horne visited a friend in Norfolk, where Jones was invited to meet him. It happened, also, that John Wesley, then in the height of his popularity, was making a tour of that county; and coming to a market-town in which he had many followers, he sent to ask permission of the clergyman to preach in his church the following day. The clergyman felt some difficulty in the matter; but recollecting that the bishop of the diocese was in the neighbourhood, he advised the parties who applied to him to obtain his lordship's consent. On being consulted, the bishop judiciously replied that "Mr. Wesley is a regularly ordained



clergyman of the Church of England; and if the minister makes no objection, I shall make none." It having been determined, therefore, that Wesley should preach the next day, Jones had a strong desire to meet him, as he had a question of some importance to ask him. But fearing lest his relation to the bishop of the diocese might make his attendance a subject of remark, he commissioned his host to attend the service, and seek an opportunity for obtaining an answer to the following question: "Whether it was true that he had invested two gentlemen with the episcopal character, and sent them in that capacity over to America?" After the sermon, the question was duly put, and the fact admitted; but unfortunately, before the reasons for it were given, the conversation was interrupted by Wesley's friends intimating that it was time for him to depart. Jones, therefore, being disappointed in knowing how Wesley had satisfied his own mind in this extraordinary affair, proceeded to investigate for himself the soundness of the reasons which had probably led to it. The father and founder of Methodism, as his partisan's delight to call him, had gone so far as to say that this step was expedient for the preventing of confusion,—a pretty clear admission, as Jones remarks, that he supposed confusion was not to be prevented among

---

Christians but by retaining the order of bishops. In reference to the pretended authority by which Wesley sent bishops into America, he remarks as follows :—

“ There are but two possible ways of putting men truly into the ministry: the one by *succession*; the other by immediate revelation or appointment from God himself. Paul received his commission to preach, not of man, nor by man, but of God, who put him into the ministry. Other ministers of the Gospel receive their commission by imposition of hands from those who had received it before. In this latter way of such succession, no man can possibly give that which he hath not received. Mr. Wesley being himself but a presbyter, could no more make a bishop than a member of the House of Commons can make a member of the House of Lords, who is made by creation from the king: the less is blessed of the greater, not the greater of the less. And as this could not be done by Mr. Wesley in virtue of what he was, it must be done in virtue of what he thought himself to be,—a vicar-general of Heaven, who was above all human rules, and could give a commission by a superior right vested in his own person. If he acted of himself, as John Wesley, a presbyter of the Church of England, he acted against all sense and order; and, by taking

upon himself what no man can take, he would introduce in the issue more confusion than he would prevent. *The end will never be prosperous when we do evil that good may come; and if it does not please God to uphold his own work in his own way, no man can do it for him. He may seem to do something, but it will not last; he works upon a principle the tendency of which is not to edification, but to dissolution.* If Mr. Wesley did not act as of himself, but as by immediate revelation from God,<sup>1</sup> and by the primary authority of Jesus Christ in his Church, then he was an enthusiast, in the strictest and fullest sense of the word; and any other person, or any hundred persons, might act as he did, if they could think of themselves as he thought of himself. But all such confusion was foreseen and prevented by the rules and orders of a Church visibly appointed and visibly continued. When any people, whoever they are, think they can act with God against the rules of God, they are either become rationalists, who do all by human authority, and deny all spiritual communication between God and man; or enthusiasts, who think the inspiration or spirit of the Gospel has set them above the forms of the Church; which

<sup>1</sup> This is now boldly claimed by the Methodists. In the Wesleyan "Tracts for the Times" it is stated that "Wesleyan Methodism is in itself the fruit of an extraordinary visitation and work of God."

persuasion terminates in spiritual republicanism. In the Christian society, two things are to be kept up with all diligence; these are, unity and piety. The man who should suppose that unity without piety will be sufficient to carry him to heaven would be under a great mistake, and he would be justly condemned and despised for it. But is not he who supposes that piety without unity will carry him to heaven under as great (and, if he believes the apostle, as dangerous) a mistake? (1 Cor. xiii.)"

Such was Jones's opinion of Wesley's assumption of episcopal power. Of Wesleyanism itself he thus speaks, in terms almost prophetic: "John Wesley was a wonderful man in his way; his labours were abundant and almost incredible . . . but with all this he raised a society on such principles as cannot preserve its unity, and thence, in effect, its existence. I now understand that, partly from the loss of their leader, and partly from the confusion of the times, they have embraced some bad opinions; in consequence of which, with little or no relation to the Church, they will not much longer be distinguished from other dissenters, and may in time be as bad as the worst of them . . . If the Methodists would keep what they have got, and prevent their own ruin, they must do as Mr.

Wesley did—they must preserve some relation to the Church.”<sup>1</sup>

At the period under consideration it is well known that the Scotch Church was unestablished, that is, was deprived by the state of its endowments; the bishops and clergy also being driven from their benefices, and forbidden to exercise their ministerial functions, except under severe restrictions, because they could not conscientiously swear allegiance to him who had supplanted James II. on the throne of England. No sooner, however, was the last descendant of James—who they believed had a right to the English crown—dead, than the bishops and clergy acknowledged the reigning sovereign, George III., and inserted his name in the liturgy of the Church. As the cause, therefore, for the enactment of the penal statutes had ceased, it was thought to be only just that they should be repealed; and, with a view of promoting this measure, three of the Scottish bishops were sent into England (1789). With one of these persecuted prelates, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, Bishop of Edinburgh, Jones had long corresponded; and was therefore, independently of higher considerations, likely to take an interest in the mission. He also enlisted Dr. Horne, then Dean of Canterbury, in their favour; but all efforts, owing to Lord

<sup>1</sup> Life of Horne, p. 150.

Thurlow's opposition, towards the repeal of the iniquitous acts were at that time unsuccessful, and the Scotch prelates returned home. When Horne was advanced to the episcopate, he again exerted himself in the matter; and it is to be regretted that he did not live to see the accomplishment of his labours. The statutes were repealed a month or two after the bishop's death. It was Bishop Horne who passed an eulogium upon the Church of Scotland, somewhat similar to that which Lord King is said to have bestowed upon Bishop Wilson's diocese.<sup>1</sup> When walking with Jones one day upon one of the hills near Canterbury, he observed, in allusion to the Scotch petition on which they were conversing, that from the present circumstances of its primitive orthodoxy, piety, poverty, and depressed state, he had such an opinion of this Church as to think, that if the great Apostle of the Gentiles were upon earth, and it were put to his choice with what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would probably be given to the episcopalian of Scotland, as most like to the people he had been used to.

There is another incident connected with this question, the recital of which may be useful at the present time. Before the penal statutes were re-

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Bishop Wilson*, p. 247.

moved, it was thought that their application might be eluded by inviting English clergy into Scotland, to execute the offices of the Church without acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Scotch prelates. Although the state of the Scottish Church might be considered in some degree to palliate such a scheme, it was generally condemned as uncanonical and subversive of unity; and Jones tells us that when a clergyman in Scotland, who had received English orders, applied to Bishop Horne, wishing to be considered as under the jurisdiction of some English bishop,—that is, to be, in effect, as he remarks, independent of the bishops of Scotland in their own country,—he gave no countenance to the proposal, and advised the person who made it quietly to acknowledge the bishop of the diocese in which he lived, who, he knew, would be ready to receive him into communion.

But these friendly communications between the bishop and his chaplain, and their common efforts in promoting the welfare of the Church, were not of very long continuance. Before Horne's consecration, premature age appeared to be fast coming upon him; and when Jones attended him at Norwich, it was a sincere affliction to him to see how his limbs began to fail. Of this the bishop himself was conscious; and he observed to his

friend one day, as they were ascending the large flight of steps by which the palace is entered, "Alas! I am come to these steps at a time of life when I can neither go up them nor down them with safety." In the hope of strengthening him, Jones advised early rising and a walk in the garden; in allusion to which the bishop would often observe, "Mr. William,"—for so he had for many years been accustomed to call him,—“I have heard you say that the air of the morning is *a dram to the mind*: I will rise to-morrow and *take a dram*." Unfortunately this healthy exercise was not so beneficial as was expected; and the bishop was advised to try the waters of Bath, from which he had received considerable benefit the year before, when Jones was his companion,<sup>1</sup> or nurse, as he playfully called him. This was in the autumn of the year 1791; at which time Jones left Norwich, that his friend might prepare for his journey. At his departure, the bishop carried him in his

<sup>1</sup> In a letter written by the bishop to Dr. Chandler, the author of the "Life of William of Waynesflete," there is an allusion to Jones during this visit: "I perused at Bath your valuable MS. My friend Jones accompanied me in the perusal, and was inexpressibly delighted with being carried, &c. We have put down a few remarks, which I have brought with me to town." This note was written the year before the bishop's death. His taste for literature continued to the last; and he never seemed to be so well, Jones tells us, as when he had the printers about him.



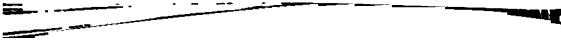
coach about ten miles on the road ; and during the drive, he conversed much upon the subject of the primary charge which he was then preparing. This conversation was the last that these devoted friends enjoyed together : for while the bishop was travelling to Bath, he suffered a paralytic attack ; and though he afterwards recovered from its effects so far as to induce some hopes of amendment, on the strength of which Jones set off to visit him at Bath, these hopes, conveyed to him in a letter from Mrs. Horne, were soon broken. On arriving in London, he was greeted with the sad intelligence that the bishop had had a relapse, and was not expected to live many days. The following post brought an account of his death. He died on the 17th of January, 1792 ; and in the epitaph written by Jones, he is described as one in whose character, depth of learning, brightness of imagination, sanctity of manners, and sweetness of temper were united beyond the usual lot of mortality. With his discourses from the pulpit, his hearers, whether of the university, the city, or the country parish, were edified and delighted. His " Commentary on the Psalms " will continue to be a companion to the closet till the devotion of earth shall end in the hallelujahs of heaven.

Doubtless this dissolution of the sacred friend-

ship which had so long existed between these excellent men,—“a friendship made up of religious principles, which increased daily by a similitude of inclinations and the same recreations and studies; a friendship cemented in youth in an university, free from selfish ends, which the friendships of age usually are,”<sup>1</sup>—must have been keenly felt by the survivor. Still the public calamities of the times were such as almost to sink the consideration of private sorrows. The flames of sedition, irreligion, and blasphemy, which had raged so fiercely in America, had now extended to France, and kindled a conflagration which threatened the moral and political destruction of Europe,—a fatal period, as Jones himself describes it, when French infidelity, with all the enthusiastic fury of fanaticism, which it had effected to abhor, rose up to destroy all regal authority, to extirpate all religion, to silence with the halter or the axe all that were not with them; and, in consequence of their success at home, undertook to shake and dissolve, if possible, all the kingdoms of the world. The revolution in France had soon partisans in England, who, through the agency of the press, propagated the most revolting treason and infidelity. The writings of Hume, only recently dead, of Tom Paine,

<sup>1</sup> Walton's *Life of Hooker*, p. 399, ed. Zouch, vol. ii.

Priestley, and other revolutionary incendiaries, were disseminated far and near; while the principles which these works inculcated were kept alive and made popular in the pages of magazines, newspapers, and other periodicals. Here was the most alarming feature of the times. So long as the people were corrupted by a literature suited to their comprehension, taste, and expenditure, the circulation of mere learned and argumentative treatises could not reach the evil. This no man better understood than Jones, nor was any better qualified to invent and apply a remedy. He was not long in starting "A Proposal for the Reformation of Principles," by means of a sound popular literature. In the first prospectus, written by Jones, of this excellent design, he describes the plan that should be pursued by it. "If it be asked, What is to be done?—we have an answer ready, while we observe what the adversary is doing. If false accounts are given of authors and their works, to deceive the public, let a true account be given, to undeceive them. If some old books are republished in a spurious form, to mislead the readers of them, let other good and useful pieces be either republished or brought out to light; and let students in divinity be furnished, at a cheap rate, with such compilations as they may



read without danger to their principles. Little cheap pamphlets might also be dispersed among the common people ; and such might be found as would be of great effect, though little known." A few months later, he sent forth a sequel to the former proposal; from which we learn that some gentlemen, seeing how many ill-affected and seditious associations were formed and forming amongst them, to the corruption of religion, learning, and good manners, had resolved, to the utmost of their power, to take such measures, in a literary way only, as should be thought most conducive to the preservation of our religion, government, and laws.

For the carrying out of this excellent plan "they judged it necessary, in the first place, to provide that a just and impartial account be given of all considerable works in divinity, literature, and politics, with a faithful history of facts and occurrences in Europe, as well literary as civil, military, and political; for the compiling of which, under the form of a periodical review, gentlemen of the first character have offered their services, with no other view but of acting faithfully for the benefit of their country. They judge it another necessary measure, to publish and disperse works of such good principles as may enlighten those who are uninformed, or rectify those who have

been falsely taught; and of such excellence as may deservedly engage their attention." The periodical review then about to be started was the "British Critic,"<sup>1</sup>—a publication which, from its commencement, ably advocated the cause of religion and loyalty, and did more to give a right tone to the mind of England than any other of our periodicals. Jones, however, never wrote in its pages: several treatises were at this time selected by him, and published in a work known by the name of the "Scholar armed against the Errors of the Times."

Besides endeavouring to create a sound literature for the better informed classes, Jones sent forth several excellent popular treatises, in which the fallacies of political and religious empiricism are thoroughly exposed. The subjects chosen,<sup>2</sup> as well as the method of illustrating them, are


<sup>1</sup> The first number appeared in May 1793. It was then a monthly periodical.

<sup>2</sup> See "Resolutions of Common Sense about Common Rights," by Thomas Bull; "One Pennyworth of Truth from Thomas Bull to his Brother John;" "One Pennyworth more, or a Second Letter," &c.; "A Letter to John Bull, Esq., from his Second-Cousin, Thomas Bull;" "Fable of the Rats to the Associated Friends of Liberty, at the Feather's Tavern;" "The Learning of the Beasts, a Fable for the year 1795;" "The Moral Character of the Monkey."—*Works*, vol. vi.

admirably adapted to arrest the attention, and convince the judgment, of the lower and middle classes. It is impossible to imagine anything more happy in idea or execution than the "Small Whole-length of Dr. Priestley." This notorious heretic had long been the object of Jones's just indignation; and when, several years before, his friend the Dean of Canterbury wrote to ask his assistance in replying to an attack made by Priestley against one of Dr. Horne's sermons, he gladly acceded to the request. But now a favourable opportunity occurred of thoroughly exposing the iniquity of his principles, his ignorance, and his presumption. In some popular riots which had lately taken place at Birmingham, where the heretical teacher resided, his house had been attacked, and his furniture, books, and manuscripts destroyed. The matter was brought before the Warwickshire Assizes, and he obtained a verdict of £2000 damages,—a sum, however, which gave little satisfaction to Priestley, who maintained his manuscripts to be invaluable. Jones had too keen a sense of the ridiculous to let the opportunity pass of showing the real value of Priestley's writings. Having, therefore, as he remarks in a vein of keen irony, some acquaintance with the doctor's

publications, he sat down to a sketch of his whole-length, which, being verified by proper authorities, may be considered as a piece taken from the life. He professed to have employed some pains to make the drawing correct, and he hopes the colours will stand; that, if the doctor's writings should hereafter be scarce (as it is conjectured they will be), people may know what he was. This design was fully accomplished. The profound nonsense of his style, his revolutionary principles, his coarse inhuman feelings, his false logic, his creed, a medley of Socinianism and deism, his philosophy, which maintained the materiality of the soul and inculcated a moral necessity, his general character, deficient alike in learning and probity,—all are sketched to the life, in colours that will indeed stand.

Even to an ordinary observer, the aspect of the times in which these writings appeared had much in it to depress and alarm; but to a man like Jones, who looked below the surface of things, it occasioned those feelings of deep despondency which at times prompted the desire of leaving a world the scene of so much guilt and sorrow. At least such may be inferred to have been his feelings, from the melancholy strains of a short ode which he at this time wrote, and forwarded to the son of his old and



tried friend Dr. Glasse.<sup>1</sup> It was written while seated under some sequestered oaks in his neighbourhood.

"Solitudo quam dilecta!  
Hinc in cœlum via recta.  
Procul est insanitatis  
Et theatrum vanitatis.  
Plebs si sævit, hic sedebo,  
Et quæ supra sunt videbo.  
Mecum angeli cantabunt,  
Cœli Dominum laudabunt.  
O si semper sic sederem,  
Mundi turbas nec viderem!  
Me dum tollent angelorum  
Grex ad Paradisi chorum,  
Et, ut sanctus eremita,  
Dulci requiescam vita."

"Hail, solitude, how sweet thy shade,  
For holy contemplation made!  
Far from the world, no more I see  
That stage of sin and vanity.  
While nations rage, my ravish'd sight  
I lift to realms of peace and light,

<sup>1</sup> He was one of Jones's college friends, then a student of Christ Church. "The world," says the biographer of Bishop Horne, "need not be told what Dr. Glasse has been doing since he left the University, as a divine, as a magistrate, and as a teacher and tutor of the first eminence." Jones also speaks of his son as one whose learning, abilities, and good principles had already entitled him to the thanks of his country, and would secure his fame with posterity. He translated into Greek iambics Mason's "Caractacus" and Milton's "Samson Agonistes."



And hear celestial voices sing  
 The praise of their immortal King.  
 Here would I sit, to peace consign'd,  
 And leave a troubled world behind,  
 Till angels waft me hence, to rest  
 In paradise amongst the blest ;  
 With hermits there to taste of bliss,  
 Who walked with God in shades like this."

The excellent man to whom this touching plaint was sent knew too well the value of his friend's services, in at least ameliorating the evils he deplored, to encourage him in his despondency ; so he forwarded by return of post the following animating reply :—

"Heu, quam debiles querelas!  
 Tune gemis, tune anhelas?  
 Tune, miles Christianus,  
 Detrahis invictas manus,  
 Æmulusque monachorum  
 Oblivisceris laborum?  
 Estne tempus dormitandi,  
 Otiumque efflagitandi,  
 Hostium dum turmæ ingentes  
 Improbe superbientias,  
 Acriter fideles premunt,  
 Signa tollunt, clamant, fremunt?  
 NON PER SYLVAS, SED PER CASTRA,  
 NOBIS ITER EST AD ASTRA.  
 Te, supremus Dux salutis  
 (Vestitus cruore imbutis),<sup>1</sup>  
 Advocat commilitationem ;  
 Præbet Spiritûs mucronem."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apoc. xix. 13 ; Isai. lxiii. 1—3.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. vi. 16.

*Et post pugnam (quam pugnare  
Turpe et fœdum recusare),  
Brevem pugnam, licet duram,  
Monstrat gloriam futuram."*

"Alas, in what inglorious strains  
My once heroic friend complains!  
Wilt thou, a gallant veteran yield,  
And, still unconquered, quit the field?  
Enamour'd of monastic ease,  
Say, dost thou pant for shades like these?  
Is it a time to seek repose,  
When all around insulting foes—  
A furious rash, impetuous throng,  
Eager for combat—rush along,  
Their banners raise with hideous cry,  
And truth, and God, himself, defy?"

Not through the silence of the groves,  
Which pensive meditation loves;  
But through fierce conflicts and alarms,  
The din of war, the clang of arms,  
And all the terrors of the fight,  
The Christian seeks the realms of light.  
Foremost amid the ensanguin'd flood  
(His sacred vestments dipp'd in blood),  
On thee thy Saviour casts His eyes;  
'My fellow-soldier, hail!' He cries.  
Consign'd to thee by His command,  
The sword of truth adorns thy hand;  
He bids thee wield it on the plain,  
Bids thee His own great cause maintain;  
And, after one laborious day,  
To endless glory points the way."

This spirited strain no doubt infused fresh vigour into the "gallant veteran" to whom it was

addressed. In the following year he again came forward with two treatises in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, one of which he dedicated to Bishop Horsley. He also prepared several new editions of his former works, and in the year 1795 completed his life of his dear and lamented friend Bishop Horne,—a work on which he had been engaged since that prelate's death, and which he executed with singular fairness and ability. It was dedicated to his friend William Stevens, the bishop's cousin,—a gentleman who, though originally a humble London tradesman, was so distinguished for his love of literature, his modesty, his good sense, his truly Christian life, and reverent observance of the Church's laws and ordinances, having been accustomed for eighteen years of his life to worship God in public daily, that he became the friend of the most distinguished churchmen of the age in which he lived. He was a man who exercised a singular influence on all who knew him; his conversation was full of the most genuine Christian simplicity and good humour. His zeal for the old paths, and his active charity towards the suffering Scottish Church were worthy of all praise. The club in London called "Nobody's Club" was of his founding, and still remains a select little society of true churchmen, laymen and clergy equally,

---

of which it were well if there were a fellow in every diocese in England. He also published several tracts under the modest title 'Ουδενός Έργα ("Works of Nobody"); and after the death of his friend Jones, he collected and published his works, to which he prefixed a biographical sketch.<sup>1</sup>

This, with the exception of a "Letter addressed to the Church of England," was probably Jones's last publication. The letter was published (1798), under the signature of "A friend and servant of the Church of England;" but the style and sentiment of the production soon discovered its author, and ample justice was done to its merits in one of the periodicals of the day. The whole letter, which was intended to point out the prevailing popular evils, is sadly applicable to our own times. In speaking of schism, he observes, "It has been a great misfortune of later times that we have been partakers in other men's sins, by making too light of the offence and danger of schism. What self-interest denominates liberality and charity is really nothing but indifference or ignorance. . . . Those who have dared to argue of late years as Christians did of old have been branded with the name of *high churchmen*, and very deservedly; for we know of no other true churchmen: but faction seeking

<sup>1</sup> See "Memoirs of William Stevens, Esq.," said to be written by his friend the late venerated Justice Park. He died A.D. 1807.

rest for itself, can find none but by inventing names and distinctions, which have no sense in the mouth of a Christian; they are all of the world, and calculated to serve some carnal purpose." In another passage, where, speaking of the danger of relying on human authority, he justly points out the evil tendency of Locke's writings, whose work on the "Human Understanding" Bishop Warburton had recently recommended to students in theology. "When I speak of Mr. Locke," he observes, "I speak not of the man, but of his principles. God will measure no man by his powers, but by his application of them. We must allow that he was a man of uncommon talents, and wise in his generation; but so much the worse, if his foundations were false, and his schemes dangerous. We must allow that the world is gone after him: worse still, for they are a large body; and if they are out of the way, great must be the power to fetch them back again. We may add, which is worst of all, that he was the oracle to those who began and conducted the American rebellion, which led to the French revolution, which will lead, if God permit, to the total overthrow of religion and government in this kingdom, perhaps in the whole Christian world: and all this from Mr. Locke, the prime favourite and grand instrument with

that mischievous infidel Voltaire ; who knew what he was about when he came forward to destroy Christianity, as he had threatened, with Mr. Locke in his hand ; and it has answered his purpose : after which let any person judge, whether the doctrines of Mr. Locke will prepare any young man for preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ." He concludes this letter with a few remarks relating to himself, and the motives which had influenced his previous life.

"I learned very early in life," he observes, "that if any one would go through the world with peace to his mind and advantage to his fortune, he must hear, and see, and say nothing ; but I learned afterwards that the truth of God is worth all the world : and in this persuasion, as I have long lived, so now I hope to die, leaving behind me this paper, as a witness that there was one man of little note, and of no ambition, who, having his eyes open to see some great errors of the time, with the power they have obtained over the judgments of learned men, and knowing their tendency to alienate us further from God, and involve us in that total corruption which must bring down divine judgment upon us, could not refrain from warning his brethren that they consider in time (if time be still left to us), how far, and in what respect,

they are departed from the faith and truth of the Church of England as it was at the Reformation ; how far they have been seduced by novel schemes, which have no foundations but in men's heads ; how far they have been carried down the stream by the current opinions of the times, and the influence of fashion, which few minds are able to withstand."

The health of Jones had long given no uncertain symptoms of decline, and the effects of a life of great mental labour were visibly marked in increasing bodily infirmities. His constitution had never been robust; and he tells us "that he was always obliged to live by rule, and was hitherto alive beyond hope."<sup>1</sup> He found it necessary, therefore, at this

<sup>1</sup> See "Letters to his Pupils"—Temperance. In this letter he observes upon the general neglect of the fasts of the Church in his time:—"It is much to be lamented, and we are suffering for it in mind and body, that in these latter days of the Reformation, we have been so dreadfully afraid of superstition, that we have at length discarded every wholesome and necessary regulation; and because we do not whip our skins like the monks of antiquity, we stuff them till they burst. The Calendar of the Church of England, which is moderate enough in its restrictions, would be of infinite service if it were duly observed. I once met with a wise and good man, far advanced in years, and of an infirm constitution, who informed me that he neither used nor wanted any other physician . . . Perhaps we should also have a better claim to the blessing of Heaven, if we showed a more pious regard to the wholesome regulations of the Christian Church, which are now so shockingly neglected that our feasts and merry makings are on Wednesdays and Fridays (perhaps on Good Friday itself), when our forefathers of the Reformation, who kept up to what they professed, were praying and fasting."

time to discontinue taking pupils. With this his income suffered a serious diminution; and he appears to have expressed himself very feelingly on the subject to his friend William Stevens. This worthy man relieved him at once from the difficulty which pressed most heavily upon his conscientious mind, by supplying him with funds out of his own purse, for the payment of a curate for the performance of those sacred duties which he could discharge in part only himself. He also brought his situation before the notice of the archbishop, and in every way interested himself in his behalf, as the following letter, written by Stevens to a common friend on September 8th, 1798, shows:—

“As concerning old Jones” (or “the old Boy,” as his friends usually called him), “about whom we were in no small distress when I left Farnborough, I have much to say. I sent the letter [from Jones] which gave me so much uneasiness to my oracle at Cheltenham, who said it was very affecting, and reflected shame somewhere. He advised me to do as I proposed, and enclose the very letter, which he returned for that purpose, to his Grace of Canterbury (Dr. Moore); which I accordingly have done, accompanied with a short one from myself, in which I express my persuasion, that the case being so, his grace would, from his particular regard to the



party, wish to be acquainted with it. And this I did, although, before the letter went, I received one from the old Boy, in answer to mine, which I had written to comfort him, by taking upon me the expence of a curate for him, wherein, to my great satisfaction, he says, that I have dispelled at once the dark cloud that hung over him, and given him hope that he may finish his voyage without being aground. The prospect of wanting a curate whom he could not afford to pay, and the assessments swallowing up his income, under the infirmities of age, overcame and overthrew him: what was to be done he could not foresee; but now there is a way to escape; and if I give him leave to thank God first, he will thank me next. Well, what a blessed thing, says he, is Christianity, which teaches the strong to support the weak and help the helpless!"

In a postscript, Mr. Stevens says, "Since writing the foregoing, I have received a letter from old Jones, in which are these words: 'On the present occasion I write to you first, to tell you that the archbishop, hearing of my illness, (Did you tell him?) has offered me something to comfort me, under the form of a sinecure, where or of what value I know not.'"

Mr. Stevens goes on to say, "I do not know that I ever did anything which gave me greater, or so

much satisfaction, as my writing first to the old Boy, with an offer which comforted him so much; and then writing to the archbishop, which has produced so good an effect. I never mentioned to him that I had written to his grace, not knowing what might be the success, though I had no doubt in my own mind but it would answer; and now I am clear that the sinecure is only a piece of delicacy in his grace, choosing to express in that manner his intention of allowing him one hundred pounds per annum out of his own pocket."

The archbishop, either in lieu of this annuity or in addition to it, presented Jones with the sinecure rectory of Holingbourne, Kent. On going to be inducted, he paid a visit to a relative of Bishop Horne, who was rector of a neighbouring parish. There he also met an old college friend, Dr. Fairfax, whom he had not seen for many years. The interview was a somewhat melancholy one. When they had last met, they were both in the vigour of their manhood; now they were far advanced in years, and had arrived at that goal beyond which life is but labour and sorrow. Nevertheless they indulged in the hope of meeting more frequently in future, especially as a contemplated tunnel under the Thames would facilitate communication between Kent and Essex, where Dr. Fairfax resided. They pleased

themselves with the prospect of availing themselves of this singular contrivance, and meeting at Gravesend. A friend who was present remarked, with more wit than feeling, that their next meeting would in all probability be at *Grave's-end*. And so it was. They died shortly afterwards, within a few months of each other.

Severe domestic affliction, in the loss of his wife, did the work of many years upon him. For though little has been said in the preceding part of the memoir of the domestic life of Jones, it must not be inferred that he was indifferent either to its blessings or obligations. "The estate of matrimony," to use his own words, "is wise, and holy, and honourable; and, if it proves to be what God designed it always should be, it is the most happy in the world. It was the state of man in the time of his innocency; and even now innocency is gone, it is a relief under all the cares of life: poverty and labour are more tolerable; sickness is less afflicting; disappointments are diminished; and blessings are increased. . . . It is certain, that from a common relation to a family of children, a friendship arises out of matrimony, such as the world can never produce from any other relation in life; and as friendship is one of the first of blessings, so far as paradise can be recovered by us in this state of mortality, it must

be found here or nowhere.”<sup>1</sup> Holding these sentiments, it will readily be imagined how keenly he felt the dissolution of a relation in life which he rightly associates with the first of blessings. Sorrow, however, is a sacred thing; and one shrinks from giving anything like a description of its effects on others: Jones, therefore, shall give his own account of this sad bereavement, and of his feelings consequent upon it. In a letter, breathing the deepest sorrow, chastened by the most pious resignation, addressed to his dear friend Dr. Glasse, he thus disembooms himself:—

“Though I am in a very low and sorrowful state, from the pressure of a troublesome memory upon a broken heart, I am not insensible to the expressions of your kind consolatory letter; for which I heartily thank you, and pray that the effect of it may remain with me. The prospect which has been before me for several weeks past has kept my mind (too weak and soft upon all tender occasions) under continual and, as I feared, insupportable agitation; till, after a painful struggle, no relief could be found but by bowing my head with silent submission to the will of God, which came to pass but a few days before the fatal stroke.

<sup>1</sup> See Sermon on the “Use and Abuse of the World,” vol. iv. p. 305.

I have found it pleasant in time past to *do the work* of God—to demonstrate his wisdom, and to defend his truth, to the hazard of my quiet and my reputation; but O, my dear friend, I never knew till now what it was to *suffer the will* of God, although my life has never been long free from great trials and troubles. Neither was I sensible of the evil of Adam's transgression, till it took effect upon the life of my blessed companion, of whom neither I nor the world was worthy.

“If I could judge of this case as an indifferent person, I should see great reason to give thanks and glory to God for his mercies. We had every preparatory comfort, and death at last came in such a form as to seem disarmed of his sting. A Christian clergyman of this neighbourhood, who is my good friend, administered the communion to her in her bedchamber, while she was well enough to kneel by the side of him; and he declared to me afterwards, that he was charmed and edified by the sight, for that the peace of heaven was visible in her countenance. I saw the same; and I would have given my life if that look could have been taken and preserved,—it would have been a sermon to the end of the world. On the last evening, she sat with me in the parlour where I am now writing, and I read the lessons of the day to her as usual, in the first of

which there was this remarkable passage: 'And the time drew nigh that Israel must die.' Of this I felt the effects, but made no remarks. On her last morning, we expected her below stairs; but, at eleven o'clock, as I was going to church to join with the congregation in praying for her, an alarming drowsiness had seized upon her, and she seemed as a person literally falling asleep, till, at the point of noon, it appeared that she was gone: but the article of her dying could not be distinguished; it was more like a translation.

"I have reason to remember, with great thankfulness, that her life was preserved a year longer than I expected; in consequence of which I had the blessing of her attendance to help and comfort me under a tedious illness of the last summer, under which I should probably have sunk if she had been taken away sooner. It so pleased God that when she grew worse I became better, and able to attend her with all the zeal and tenderness affection could inspire. But how different were our services! She, though with the weakness of a woman, and in her seventy-fifth year, had the fortitude of a man,—I mean, a Christian,—and all her conversation tended to lessen the evils of life, while it inspired hope and patience under them. The support which she administered was of such a sort as might have been

expected from an angel; while I, when my turn came, was too much overwhelmed with the affliction of a weak mortal.

“My loss comprehends everything that was most valuable to me upon earth. I have lost the manager, whose vigilant attention to my worldly affairs, and exact method in ordering my family, preserved my mind at liberty to pursue my studies without loss of time or distraction of thought. I have lost my almoner, who knew and understood the wants of the poor better than I did, and was always ready to supply them to the best of our ability. I have lost my counsellor, who generally knew what was best to be done in difficult cases, and to whom I always found it of some advantage to submit my compositions; and whose mind, being little disturbed with passions, was always inclined to peaceable and Christian measures. I have lost my example, who always observed a strict method of daily devotion, from which nothing could divert her, and whose patience under every kind of trial seemed invincible. She was blessed with the rare gift of an equal, cheerful temper, and preserved it under a long course of ill health, I may say, for forty years. To have reached her age would to her have been impossible, without that quiet, humble spirit which never admitted of mur-

muring or complaining, either in herself or others; and patient, quiet sufferers were the favourite objects of her private charities. It might be of use to some good people, to know that she formed her mind after the rules of the excellent Bishop Taylor, in his 'Holy Living and Dying,'—an author of whom she was a great admirer, in company with her dear friend Bishop Horne. I have lost my companion, whose conversation was sufficient of itself, if the world was absent,—to the surprise of some of my neighbours, who remarked how much of our time we spent in solitude, and wondered what we could find to converse about. But her mind was so well furnished, and her objects so well selected, that there were few great subjects in which we had not a common interest. I have lost my best friend, who, regardless of herself, studied my ease and advantage in everything. These things may be small to others, but they are great to me; and though they are gone as a vision in the night, the memory of them will always be upon my mind during the remainder of my journey, which I must now travel alone. Nevertheless, if the word of God be my companion, and his Holy Spirit my guide, I need not be solitary, till I shall once more join my departed saint, never more to be separated; which God grant in his good time, according to his



word and promise, in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

God's good time was not long deferred. After the death of his wife, his health began to decline rapidly, and a paralytic stroke reduced him to a state of weakness from which he never recovered. But this did not destroy his sympathy for friends, as the following incident, communicated by an eminent clergyman now living, shows: "I believe I was the last of the persons who visited him, and remained a day or two with him. He was just about to undergo the operation of cupping when I arrived; and on its coming to his knowledge that I was in the house, it was with the utmost difficulty that his medical attendant could divert him from his purpose of having the operation suspended."

He now gave himself wholly to assiduous preparation for death, the approach of which he anticipated with some alarm. "He was warmly engaged," says an eye-witness "on some important subject of Christian doctrine to the last; and the Bible and Common Prayer-book were almost the only books he looked into for some considerable time back. I found them always before him; and I am persuaded that he shed as many tears over the Psalms of David as the author himself."<sup>1</sup> Deep was the sense of his own unworthiness.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of W. Stevens, p. 160.

Having, as he thought, without due reflection, applied to himself, on one occasion, a passage<sup>1</sup> which occurred in the second lesson of the day, he immediately wrote, though with considerable difficulty, a hurried note to the friend in whose presence he had made the application, telling him that he had suffered for it ever since. "All I dare say," he adds, "or would permit any other to say for me, is only to repeat those words which our Saviour used towards the woman with the box of ointment, 'He hath done what he could;' and as she made an offering at the head of Christ, I would offer all I have at his feet." He frequently received the holy communion during his confinement, and also just before his death, from the hands of Mr. Sims, his curate and successor at Nayland. When the pains of death approached, he desired that the Psalm in the Visitation of the Sick might be read to him. The soothing words were as balm to his spirit; and, taking his curate's hand in his own, he said, in allusion to his fears at the approach of death, "If this be dying, Mr. Sims, I had no idea what dying was before," and thanked God that it was no worse. He then took leave of his two children; after which the weary wheels of life stood still, and he calmly breathed out his last breath, and fell asleep, on the Feast of the Epiph-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 6.

any, 1800: and may we not hope that the Church's prayer on that day was fulfilled in him, "O God, who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only-begotten Son to the Gentiles, mercifully grant that we, which know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruition of thy glorious Godhead, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The character of this faithful servant of God cannot be better summed up than in the emphatic words of his friend Bishop Horsley: "He was a man of quick penetration, of extensive learning, and the soundest piety; and he had, beyond any other man I ever knew, the talent of writing on the deepest subjects to the plainest understanding." To which it may be added, that he was a burning and a shining light in an age of comparative apathy and darkness. While too many of the clergy of England were slumbering at their posts, he was earnest and vigilant, confirming the faithful, rebuking the refractory, convincing the gainsayers, and protecting all, as far as in him lay, from the defilement of false doctrine, heresy, and schism. Every action of his life, moreover, proved that he *was* what he declared himself to be—a man of no ambition; and he *did* profess the truth of God before all the world. "The Church might fairly be denominated *militant on earth* with regard to him," writes Stevens,

in announcing his death to a friend, "for he was constantly fighting its battles, and in him the devil and the wicked world experienced an active and undaunted opponent. He loved his son and daughter, and their happiness was very near to his affections; but neither son nor daughter, nor any other interest on earth, lay so near his heart, nor occupied so much of his attention in his latter days, as that of Christ and His Church; and the danger to which she is exposed under the present circumstances of the Christian world, was amongst the heaviest of the afflictions which he endured." Nor should the remark made in an early number of the "British Critic"<sup>1</sup> respecting him be forgotten: "Jones is an author more distinguished by eminent services than by rewards conferred, and whose slender participation of professional emoluments renders his attachment to the Church the more conspicuously affectionate, generous, and disinterested." He had his reward in other and better things.

"Why should they crave the worldling's wreath  
On whom the Saviour deign'd to breathe,  
To whom His keys are given;  
Who lead the choirs where angels meet,  
With angels' food their brethren greet,  
And pour the drink of heaven?"

<sup>1</sup> December 1795.

**CAMBRIDGE:**  
**JOHN THOMAS WALTERS,**  
**6 King's Parade.**

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.







[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

